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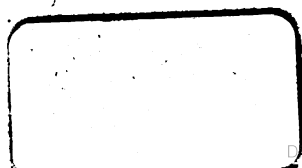
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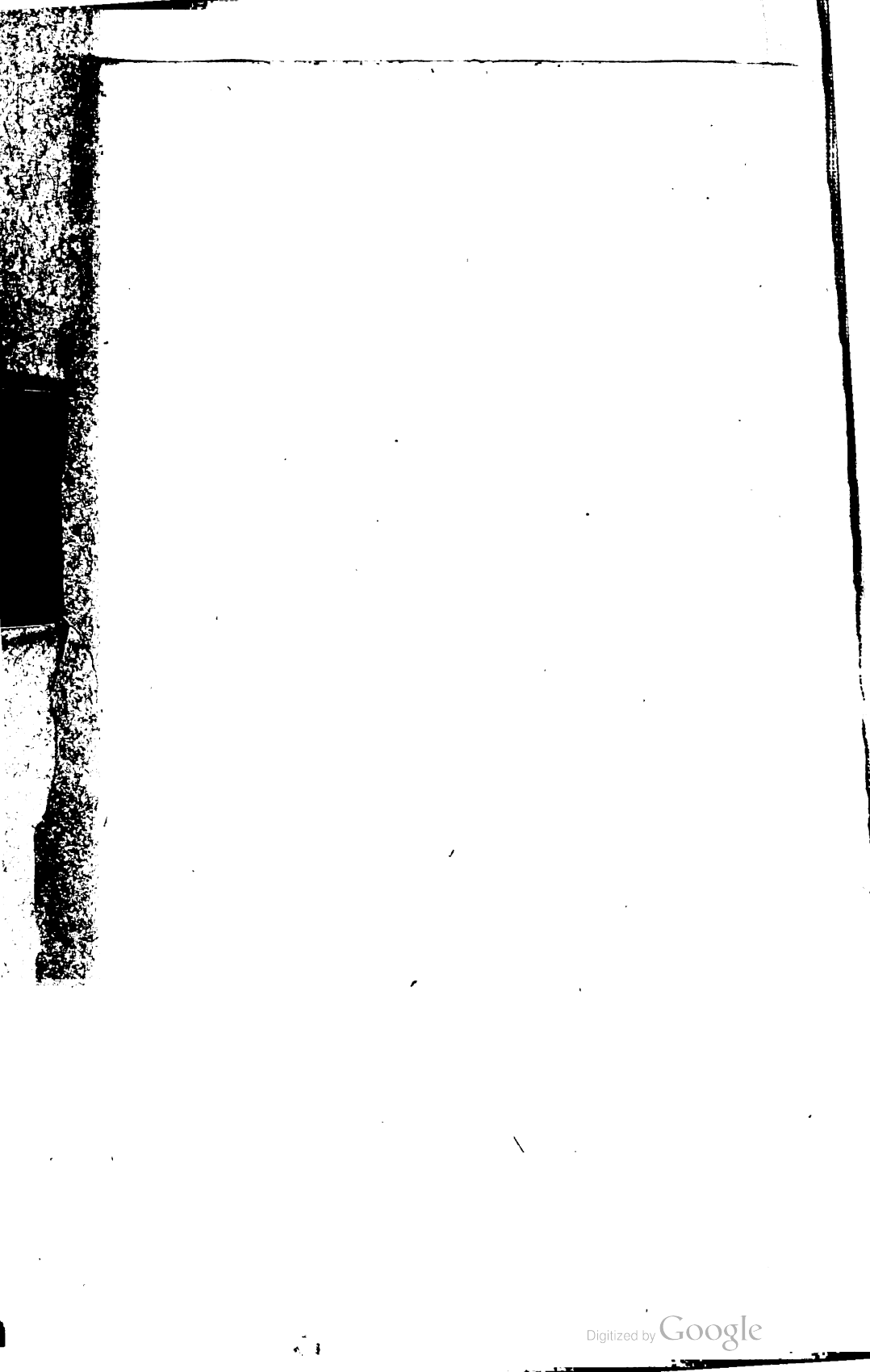
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OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXIII

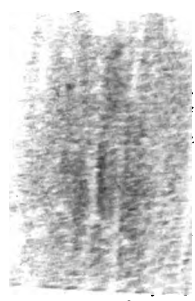
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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

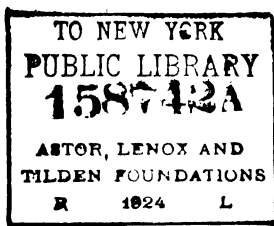
THE MILITARY HOSPITAL AT LITITZ, 1777-78.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 1.

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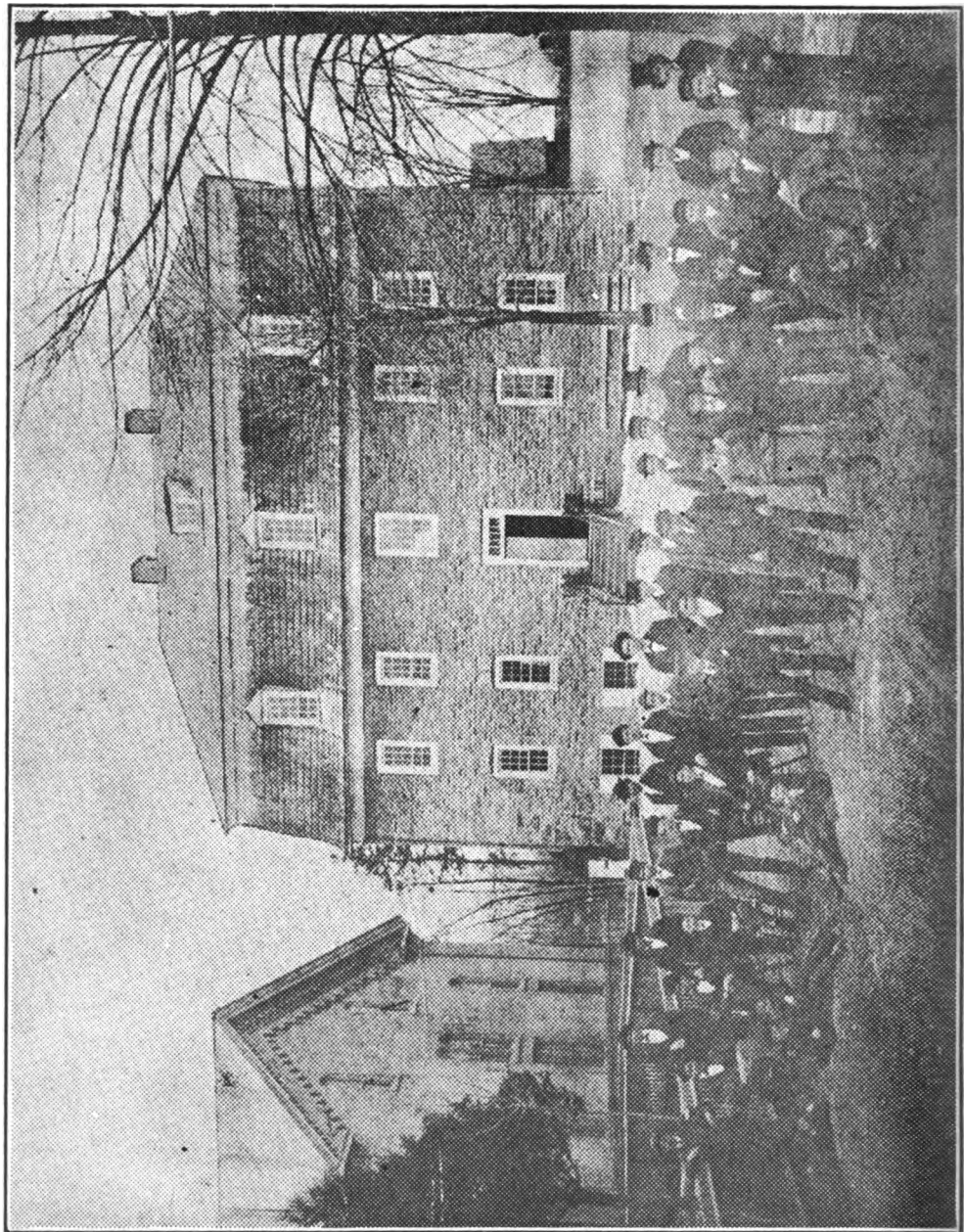
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1919



The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777-78. - - - - - **5**
BY PROF. HERBERT H. BECK.

Minutes of the January Meeting. - - - - - **15**



The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777-78.

During the period under consideration Lititz was a Moravian settlement consisting of eighteen buildings, which included residences and several larger structures. These houses were ranged along Main Street between the eastern extremity of what is now the Linden Hall Seminary property and the Springs Hotel. The Moravian Church, as it is to-day, was not standing at the time. Services were held in the second story of the building now used as the Moravian parsonage. Immediately to the east of this was the Sisters' House—essentially the same as it is to-day as part of Linden Hall. To the westward stood the Brethren's House, built in 1759. This building was the military hospital of revolutionary days. It is three stories in height with a frontage of sixty and a depth of thirty-seven feet. Subsequently to its use by Washington's army surgeons and their charges, it was used by John Beck as the main building of his academy; and later, up to the present time, it has been used for various offices of the Moravian Church. To the south of the Brethren's House was a quadrangle of small shops harboring the industries in which the brethren were employed. These included quarters for the accommodation of weaver, baker, nailsmith, hatter, butcher, carpenter and chandler.

At the western end of the village, occupying a site now covered by the eastern half of the Springs Hotel, stood the Zum Anker Inn. This building is described by those now living who remember it, as being a two-story frame structure, with a high, peaked roof. A great stone door step at its entrance on the north, a town pump on the edge of its sidewalk, and a conspicuous board—pendant from a cross arm, and bearing the sign of the anchor—were notable features of this historic hostelry.

The village and the Moravian congregation were one in all matters—though Lititz was not a religious community in the same sense as were Bethlehem and Nazareth, in which there was absolute merging of individual effort and gain to the common good. The business and social life of Lititz was organized about the Church. Individuals owned property and conducted business as they do to-day, though under the general oversight of a board known as the Aufseher Collegium, or Committee on Temporal Affairs. This was a powerful body made up of some of the wiser and more practical members of the congregation. It acted as referee in matters requiring adjustment, and frequently gave advice or correction, where it obviously was needed, in business or social affairs. It also had the ordinary duties of a town council. One extract from the diary of the Collegium illustrates its powers and at the same time sketches in a few strokes the primitive structure of the village life.

Entry: "Joseph Sturgis (watchman) wants to have a horn wherewith to announce the hours, because he says the frequency of calling them out

is too hard on him. Collegium thought that before midnight he could go about quietly and unnoticed; and after that time continue as loud and as often as formerly; or instead of that sing a scriptural verse. A horn might be unpleasant to some of the neighbors. When there is a body in the corpse-house he should look in frequently."

The Moravian Church, as a corporation, conducted several lines of business, notably two or more farms, a butcher shop, a general store, a saw and grist mill, and the Zum Anker Inn. The finances of these were under the supervision of an aufseher or warden of the Church.

The single sisters and brothers of the congregation were segregated for purposes of instruction and employment in the two large houses erected on either side of the Church.

Records of the times, in the German language, were kept in a congregation diary, in the minutes of the Collegium, and in the separate diaries of the Brethren's and Sisters' Houses. This paper is largely a presentation of the translations made from these four sources by Abraham R. Beck. In order to preserve, as far as possible, the attitude of mind of the writers of these records, the translations were made with as much literalism as was justified by good English context.

The main facts of the paper, outside of the excerpts from early diaries, were furnished by Abraham R. Beck, and the writer is also indebted to John W. Jordan and Judge Charles I. Landis for data on several of the persons mentioned herein.

The first entry referring to the momentous events of the times reads:

"1775. February 27th. Congress having adopted a measure regarding the use of tea, which is now strictly obeyed everywhere, it was resolved to sell none of it in our store.

"April 29th. To our consternation, we received news of the bloody action between the king's troops and the Americans at Bunker Hill and Charlestown, near Boston.

"June 2d. Bishop Seidel wrote us, from Bethlehem, that a declaration of our principles had been presented to Congress by Mr. Franklin, and favorably received.

"1776. July 13th. From the newspapers we learn that on the 4th inst. in Philadelphia, Independence was actually declared by Congress and all provinces made free States.

"Dec. 13th. There is much alarm felt, and great excitement, in Philadelphia, Lancaster and indeed throughout the whole country because of the progress of the British army. The Committee of Safety has ordered all militia to march against it.

"1777. February 28th. A party of Marylanders, on their return from the Army, arrived and staid here overnight. Being half-starved they went into the houses to get something to eat, and were given loaves of bread and a quantity of meat, which they accepted with the heartiest thanks, saying that in all their weary march they had been nowhere treated so well as here.

"May 15th. By order of the Committee, blankets, linen and clothing were collected in our township for the Army. We, too, must contribute what we can spare, and future payment is promised.

"Sept. 28th. The three French officers, among them a German baron, who had been stopping at our tavern for some days, left in haste for York; because Congress secretly left Lancaster last evening and crossed the Susquehanna.

"Oct. 3d. The French Chevalier La Colombe brought us a letter from our friend and Congressman Laurens regretting the necessity for his departure so soon from our neighborhood, Congress having been suddenly transferred to York."

The French officer somewhat inaccurately referred to was Chevalier de la Colombe who had enlisted as a volunteer in the American service. He left France with Lafayette, to whom he was aide-de-camp. He was breveted captain by Congress, November, 1777. In January, 1779, Lafayette, about to start for France, wrote to General Washington, recommending de la Colombe for a major's brevet. At the end of the war de la Colombe returned to France and was employed by the French republic. He was made a prisoner, with Lafayette, in 1792, by the Prince of Coburg and shut up in the citadel of Olmutz. Upon his release he returned to Philadelphia.

"Oct. 7th. Just as after the battle of Brandywine Creek [Sept. 11th], so-to-day, after the engagement at Germantown [Oct. 4th] many soldiers passed through Lititz."

The looseness of military discipline, during this period, is shown in the next entry:

"Oct. 21st. During the evening meeting six armed soldiers entered the Sisters' House—dreadfully frightening, with their brutal swearing, the house-watcher and the few sisters who were at home. Their intent was forcibly to enter the dormitory and press, for their own use, the blankets off the beds. However they had the goodness to let themselves be dissuaded from their purpose."

In referring to this incident the Sisters' House Diary says:

"The Brethren Schmick and Franke were fetched from the Chapel, coming promptly to our assistance, and they got the fellows away before the meeting was over. We thanked our dear Lord and House Father that he so mercifully preserved us, and that only the fright remained."

"Nov. 29th. In our neighborhood the soldiers have pressed many teams (our own, from the farm, included) to carry provisions to the army.

"December 14th. A doctor by the name of Canada (Kennedy) brought us the news that by order of General Washington, 250 sick and wounded soldiers must be quartered here. He inspected our house (the Brethren's House) which suited his purposes exactly, and ordered that it be immediately vacated, for we might expect the first of the sick in four days. We could however retain kitchen and cellar for our own use.

"Dec. 19th. At noon several soldiers arrived here to prepare for the coming of their sick and wounded comrades, who came hither in the evening in wagons. There are about 80 in all, mostly from the Jerseys.

"Dec. 20th. The brethren Franke and Becker were appointed communicators between Dr. Allison, his steward, or his commissary, and ourselves. There came 15 wagons full of sick soldiers; so that now all our rooms and halls are filled with them.

"Dec. 21st. Also, quite late, 100 more sick and wounded; but as the hospital was quite full they were taken elsewhere.

"The question arose, where shall the dead be buried if any die in the lazaret? Later, after consultation with several brethren of the Committee on Temporal Affairs, we determined to set apart a corner of our lowermost field."

The spot referred to in this entry, where about one hundred and ten men were buried unfortunately was not marked. The lines of the Moravian land were so changed in later years that the phrase "corner of our lowermost field" has lost its value in fixing the place. However, according to accurate tradition, it was several hundred yards east of the Moravian Church, and south of the road running between Lititz and the village of Rome by about a hundred yards. Thirty years ago excavations for brick clay invaded what evidently was the edge of the graveyard, several oblong masses of dark-colored earth, parallel with each other, and a few feet apart, being dug into before it was realized that they were graves. This was at a spot fifty yards south of East Main Street, and about one hundred yards southwest of the residence of Dr. Bender. At the place where the soldiers are buried the gentle hill which slopes to the westward takes an abrupt dip. This marks the limit of the old excavation and the spot where the graves were found.

That the numbers of the dead and the gravity of the health situation in the village, to which the epidemic of camp fever had spread from the hospital, made for hasty and rude burials, is shown in the next entry:

"In the event of an officer's death we should be expected to give him a more honorable burial place than that is, where all are huddled indiscriminately underground. Therefore we resolved in such a case to do as they really have done in Bethlehem; namely, to set apart, in our graveyard, a row for strangers, separated from that of the brethren by a passage."

No necessity for the carrying out of this plan arose however.

"Dec. 28th. Yesterday Bro. Schmick preached to the soldiers in the Brethren's House. [Bro. Schmick contracted camp fever and died a few weeks later.] The misery in the lazaretto cannot be described; neither can it, without being seen, be imagined. The two doctors themselves are sick, and have the attention of Bro. Adolph Meyer. Therefore the soldiers are without medicine. Such as are nearly recovered, fearing a relapse of the malady, prefer to remain out of doors as much as possible; but to-day, because of the continuous snow-storm, they were forced, much to their displeasure, to stay in the house.

"Dec. 31st. Another wagon with sick soldiers came from Reading.

"1778. Jan. 1st. As both doctors are too ill to attend to their duties, a third, a German from Saxony, came to take charge in their place. Two of the soldiers, seven of whom have died already, were buried to-day.

"Jan. 10th. Some of our little boys have been trading things with the soldiers, receiving in exchange cartridges and powder, which they set off in the barns. Bro. Schmick gave them a sharp talking on their improper and highly dangerous play, and with good result but the parents must be more watchful over their children! No one should buy from the soldiers what are, at any rate, commonly stolen goods."

This is a touch of the inevitable comedy of boy nature, amidst the tragic settings of the moment, that is well worth handing down.

Another entry of the same date has lost its gravity entirely with the flight of a century, and with its touch of humor it is a fitting introduction of the quaint figure of Tobias Hirte. The diary reads:

"There is no reason why Tobias Hirte should have bought a gun; indeed on the contrary it is an unseemliness! What use has a schoolmaster for a gun? He must be ordered to dispose of it.

"Some 20 well soldiers left the hospital to rejoin the Army.

"Jan. 18th. Dr. Brown, the general superintendent of all the hospitals in this region, came from Bethlehem, bringing with him a fine letter of recommendation. He intends to bring his family hither and make Lititz his temporary home."

Dr. William Brown, son of an eminent Scotch physician, Dr. Gustavus Brown, was born in Virginia and educated in Edinburgh. He wrote a pharmacopœia—for the use of the hospital—the first of its kind published in America. This work is dated in its preface Lititz, March 12, 1778.

Dr. Brown rose to the rank of surgeon general after the revolution. He was buried at "Preston" near Alexandria, Va., in the family burying ground.

Dr. Brown was quartered, during his stay in Lititz, at the home of Tanneberger, builder of some of the first pipe organs made in America. Tanneberger's house stood nearly opposite the congregation store—now Wolle's store—on Main Street.

Dr. Allison was at Blickensderfer's—on the north side of the street, west of Cedar Street; and officers were at Geitner's—now the site of Dr. Hertz's house, and at Claus Coeln's—about where S. M. Huber's store now stands. Claus Coeln was the builder of the present Moravian Church, erected 1787. Officers were also quartered at the home of Jaspar Payne, the only villager of English birth. His house stood immediately to the west of the congregation store. The presence of a colonel at Jaspar Payne's was a sore trial to the venerable host; for the convalescing officer, in the glow of returning health, entertained his many visitors from Lancaster with a generous merriment so high that it often approached uproar.

"Because of Bro. Jaspar Payne's age and weakness," the dairy reads, "it would be well, when the Colonel leaves, for the prevention of future similar occurrences, to ask Dr. Allison and his family to lodge there.

"March 1st. About 60 well soldiers are rendezvousing here. Their behavior is pretty wild and ill-mannered. Dr. Allison, who has hitherto maintained good order here, has gone to Bristol to fetch his family to Lititz.

"April 8th. We heard from Bethlehem that Lititz is to be vacated and that the general hospital is to be located here. Bishop Hehl writes: 'It was proposed that our people go to Bethlehem and Nazareth for, after all, we are all one family.' This causes us much pain and serious trouble. As this action will depend upon Dr. Shippen, Conference unanimously determined to send him a petition against the intended move. This was done on the 9th. In reply Dr. Shippen stated that he had the highest esteem for the Brethren's Society, and that he would do his utmost to protect it. Should an urgent

necessity arise to place the general hospital here—and that does not seem likely—he would first consult the brethren upon the subject.”

This matter was laid directly before General Washington by Bishop Ettwein, who was at the head of the Moravian Church in the American provinces. The answer is notable for its calm dignity and kindness. Written at a time when Freedom was a will o' the wisp in a swamp of despair, and when trials and responsibilities were crowding upon the Commander-in-Chief in a bitterly personal way, Washington's letter to the Moravians of Lititz reflects the serenity of a great soul. The communication is dated Headquarters, March 28, 1778. It reads as follows:

“*Sir*:—I have received your letter of the 25 inst. by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz, by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this kind is to the Welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made anywhere without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—at the same time it is ever my wish & aim that the public Good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual Interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The Arrangement and Distribution of Hospitals depends entirely on Dr. Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice—It would be proper however to represent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz; and you may if you choose it, communicate the Contents of this Letter to him. I am Sir Your most obed^t.

“*Serv^t*.

“GO. WASHINGTON.”

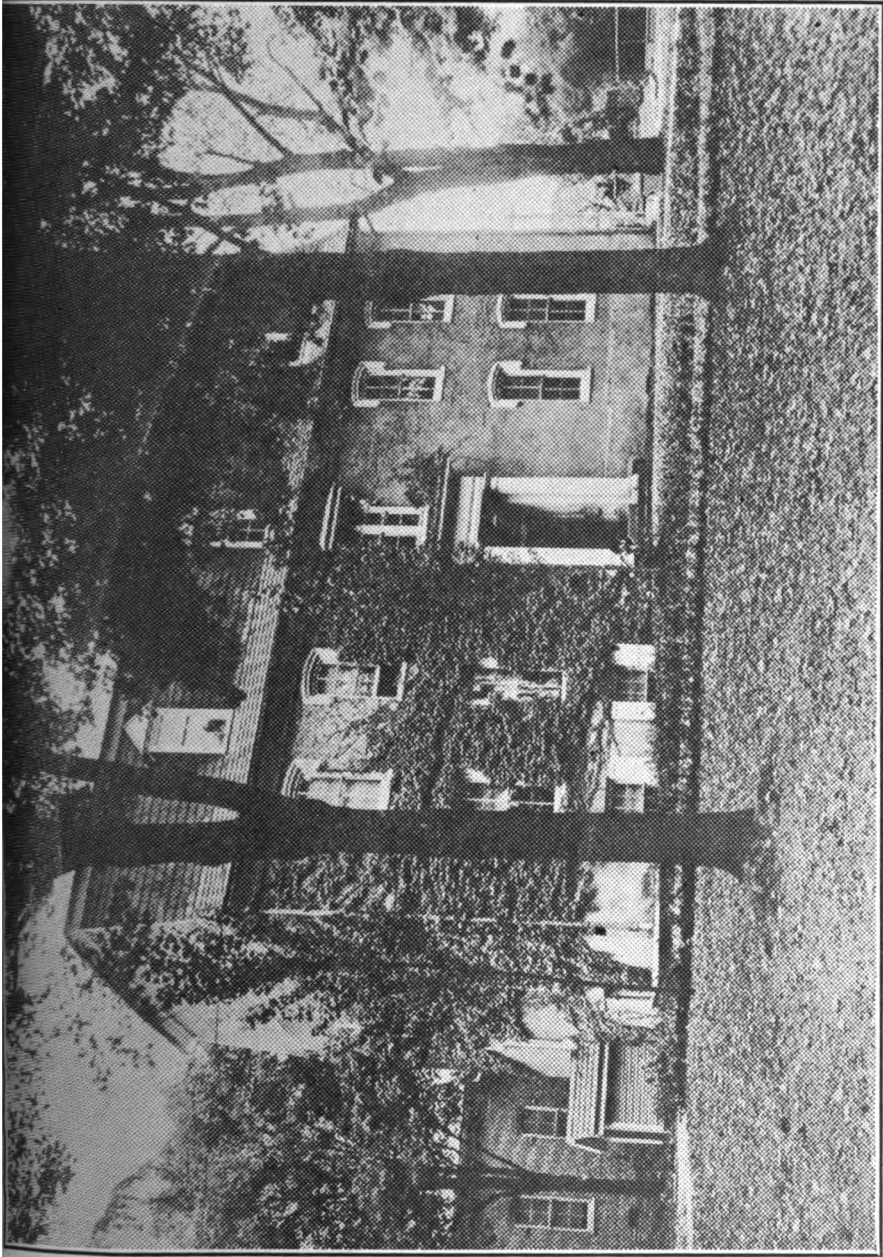
This letter was written by Washington's secretary, to whom it was dictated by the General who, of course, signed it himself.

In the course of events it did not become necessary for Dr. Shippen to order Lititz vacated for purposes of the military hospital; so what the Moravian Brethren so much feared did not come to pass.

The man referred to in Washington's letter, Dr. William Shippen, the younger son of William and Susannah (née Harrison) Shippen, was born in Philadelphia on October 21, 1736. Graduating from Princeton in 1754, he studied with his father until 1758, when he went to England, and continued his studies under Drs. John Hunter, William Hunter and McKenzie. He returned to Philadelphia in 1762. On July 15, 1776, he was appointed Chief Physician for the Flying Camp, and on April 11, 1777, he was elected Director General of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States. On May 11, 1780, he was elected Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, which position he held until 1806. He was president of the College of Physicians from 1805 until his death, which occurred in Germantown in 1808.

Dr. William Shippen was a nephew of Edward Shippen of Lancaster.

“April 21st. Arrived 9 wagons with sick and wounded from Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown and Reading.



THE MILITARY HOSPITAL BUILDING AS IT IS TO-DAY.

"Apr. 22d. Day of Humiliation and Prayer. (National.)

"May 7th. Some of the young people—among them some of our musicians—are in the habit of indulging, late into the night, in merrymaking at the Big Spring, where Tobias Hirte has laid out a special place for that purpose. Soldiers go there also. This has given the congregation and ourselves great offence! Yet what is to be done—seeing that Dr. Allison was there too and that this place was planned partly for his sake? But Dr. Allison has respect for our congregation rules, and we may not hesitate to tell him why we are opposed to this rendezvous, and ask him kindly, for love of us, to absent himself from it.

"Tobias Hirte shall be summoned to appear before the Brethren of the Conference and told not to dare in the future to begin such a thing on our land—for he is given to sudden ideas of such a kind—especially not without permission; and secondly to leave the place at the spring as it now is, and do nothing more to it."

This is the first mention of the Lititz springs as a pleasure ground.

Tobias Hirte seems to have been a constant source of anxiety to the pious overseers of the town. The figure of this man had in it enough of quaintness, originality and eccentric distinction to entitle the name of Tobias Hirte to a place in the good literature of a hundred and twenty-five years later; at least, an author so skillful in his choice of characters as Rudyard Kipling seems to think so.

Hirte combined the qualities of intelligence, enterprise, originality and independence of mind, with the occupations of teacher, versatile musician, itinerant pharmacist and hermit. He lived at Lititz, Salem, N. C., Philadelphia (at which place Kipling found data about him), Lebanon and elsewhere. He was often on the road—astride a well-known mare—with his Seneca Indian Oil. Each year he made a pilgrimage to the Seneca Indians and the famous chiefs of that nation, Cornplanter and Red Jacket, thought well enough of him to return his visits. While he lived at Lititz, during revolutionary days, he was a member of the Brethren's House Community, from whence, for certain escapades, he was frequently expelled, and as often forgiven, until patience with him ceased to be a virtue and he was sent away for good.

Kipling uses the character of Hirte in two of his stories, "Brother Square Toes" and "A Priest in Spite of Himself."

"May 13th. Some of the soldiers left here for the Army.

"May 24th. To-day Lieutenant Abraham Boemper, of the American Army, came to Lititz bringing with him a packet of European 'Gemein Nachrichten' destined for Bethlehem. It had been seized, on its way from Philadelphia, as it passed through the Continental lines; and having been broken open, read, and found to contain nothing but innocent matter, Lieut. Boemper had saved it from destruction, and kindly gave himself the trouble to come to Lititz and deliver it, safe and sound, into our hands.

"June 2d. This has been an unquiet day for us, as 130 of the sick and wounded have been brought hither. We had some hope that deliverance was at hand; but now since the main hospital has been established here we see there is more trouble in store for us.

"June 14th. [Sisters' House Diary.] In the meeting of the communicant

members we received the information not unexpected, yet painful, that the Holy Communion would be discontinued until our usual calm is restored.

"June 28th. We heard to-day, for certain, that the Americans have possession again of Philadelphia.

"July 8th. There came two wagons from Lancaster with sick for the hospital.

"August 21st. We hear that the hospital will be removed, for certain, next week.

"Aug. 28th. At last came the hour when the hospital here broke up. Some of the sick were transported to Yellow Springs, others to Lancaster.

"Aug. 29th. We certainly find it delightful to enjoy again our former peaceful life. It must be said however that Dr. Allison maintained order and discipline to the best of his ability.

"Sept. 15. [Brethren's House Diary.] Our dear sisters cheerfully volunteered to scrub our house (recently vacated as a hospital) and finished to-wards evening.

"Sept. 25th. Thankful and happy we moved back into our house. It had previously been cleaned of all dirt and rubbish, and the walls were newly whitewashed. All the stoves and windows needed repairs, and the woodwork everywhere was freshly painted.

"1779. May 13th. Dr. Brown and family arrived here to-day from Virginia. He was very friendly, and declared himself delighted to meet the brethren again. He wished we had a settlement in Virginia.

"June 21st. Dr. Allison and family, who remained here, by our consent, after the removal of the hospital, left for Shamokin where he will have a similar charge. He was very thankful for all the kindness they received here.

"1780. March 9th. Fifty light horsemen came here to seek quarters for the night. At the tavern they permitted Bro. Danz (who had charge of the Zum Anker) to explain that it would not be agreeable to him to take them in; but then they went into the neighborhood, where they behaved outrageously, robbing and taking from the people whatever they could lay their hands upon.

"1781. June 29th. That two English prisoners in our town were roughly and, one can say, almost inhumanly handled by some of our people, a few days ago was not only a reprehensible action, but something not to be tolerated. The guilty ones must be spoken to about it.

"Oct. 21. Bro. Simon Danz, at the tavern, has two English prisoners working for him. As we have reason to fear that their staying here any longer may give rise to evil results, Bro. Danz must be advised to consult with Bro. Wm. Henry in Lancaster, in regard to them so that they may be dismissed—the sooner the better."

Then follows an entry which touches the cord of sympathy with our own happy experiences of November 11, 1918. It reads:

"1783. Dec. 11th. A day of Thanksgiving appointed by the National Government. In the evening, for joy at the return of peace, we illuminated our house; the trombonists playing meanwhile much to our delight."

With this entry ends all direct or indirect reference to the hospital in the local records of the times.

The Brethren's House had been used by Washington's men from December

19, 1777, to August 28, 1778. During this period more than five hundred, probably nearer a thousand, sick and wounded soldiers were quartered there.

Little reference to the Lititz Hospital is to be found in the records of the War Department at Washington. It is probable that most of these records were destroyed in the burning of the Department building eighty-five years ago. What remain there read as follows:

"Report of the General Hospitals, April 26, 1778. Opposite 'Liditz Hospital.' In what time, 1st Feby to 20 Apl 1778, men now in hospital 39; dead and deserted 83, discharged and sent to camp 142. Other occurrences and remarks: The acct of the first Doctors cannot be found. This is a convenient and pleasant place for an hospital and is so near Lancaster that the same officer and surgeons may attend both. That at Schelferstown [doubtless Schaefferstown] and Ephrata should be removed to them, both being very inconvenient.

"Signed LACH^x. MCINTOSH."

This officer was a Brigadier General and he signs another return as a "Visiting Officer."

A list of names of men remaining in the General Hospital at Lititz, August 23, 1778, contains 66 names. This list is framed and now hangs in the archive room at Lititz. It is as follows:

Name.	Regiment.	Name.	Regiment.
Alex ^r Creighton, 1st Penna.		James Anderson, 6th Virginia.	
George Filson, 1st Penna.		Will ^m Knight, 10th Virginia.	
William Rule, 2nd Penna.		Joel Harlow, 14th Virginia.	
James McKenney, 8th Penna.		Stephen Remington, Col. Bradley.	
Sadler Roach, 4th Penna.		Joseph Lawrence, Col. Tupper.	
John Gregor, 3d Penna.		Henry Pencil, 5th Penna.	
Patrick Robinson, 9th Penna.		John Hargin, 5th Penna.	
Alex ^r Hannah, 9th Penna.		Barney Cox, 6th Penna.	
Ja ^s Cummins, 12th Penna.		John McSorly, 7th Penna.	
Abraham Levi, 8th Virginia.		Will ^m Campbell, 11th Penna.	
William Woodford, 8th Virginia.		Josh McCawley, 11th Penna.	
John Andrews, 12th Virginia.		Joshua Dutton, Col. Handley.	
Joseph West, 16th Virginia.		Gashua Bushears, Col. Hartley.	
James O. Bryan, 11th Virginia.		Hermenias Thornton, Col. Proctor.	
John Uncteau, 13th Penna.		Chas. Steward, Col. Patten.	
Chas. Shields, 15th Virginia.		Patric Turner, Col. Moilands.	
Timothy Connor, 15th Virginia.		Will ^m Tarbox, Col. Wessers.	
John Moore, 1st Virg ^a State.		David Hall, Col. Swift.	
James Martin, 13th Virginia.		John Cochlin, Col. Swift.	
Will ^m Gass, 13th Virginia.		Mark Wood, Col. Swift.	
Willis Smith, 6th N. Carolina.		Francis Millner, Col. Swift.	
Gerrard Craig, 6th N. Carolina.		Matthew Wingfield, Col. Swift.	
Isaac Griffin, 10th N. Carolina.		Mich ^l Trainer, Col. Hazen.	
John Evans, 3d N. Carolina.		John Carner, 6th Penna.	
John Frankum, 6th N. Carolina.		Aaron Oseley, 15th Virginia.	
Ambrose Hines, Col. Chandley.		James Morris, Col. Jackson.	

Name.	Regiment.	Name.	Regiment.
William Boswell,	Col. Angel.	Felix Tool,	Col. Jackson.
Jonathan Pardee,	Col. Chandler.	James Winford,	Col. Jackson.
John McCormac,	4th Maryland.	W ^m Manning,	Col. Prentice.
Mark Welch,	7th Maryland.	Henry Gloss,	Col. Prentice.
William Sutton,	2nd Jersey.	Henry Otto,	Prisoner of War.
John Syren,	5th Jersey.	Yost Needle,	Prisoner of War.
Virgil Poe,	2nd Virginia.	Henry Shank,	Prisoner of War.

The Brigade and Company of each man is also given in the Official List, which is a copy of that in the Adjutant-General's office in Washington. It is signed by

FRA. ALISON, Jun^r.,
Sen^r Surgeon.

A poem, involving the subject of our theme, was written several years ago by Abraham R. Beck. It was conceived solely for the members of his family and it has not been published. With the author's consent it is presented herewith, not only because it makes an appropriate ending to a paper on the Military Hospital at Lititz, but because it is fitting that the conclusion should be furnished by the pen that made the rest of this paper possible.

WHILE MORTALS SLEEP.

If you have but the proper gift
 Yourself from earthly things to lift,
 And can possess your soul from fright,—
 Beholding an unusual sight,—
 Then come with me, when midnight spell
 Is broken by the village bell,
 To that green court of velvet sod
 Beside the ancient House of God,
 And see—what nightly happens still—
 The shades of Continentals drill.
 First signs of their approach are these:
 A shiver goes through all the trees;
 The air, grown chill, as of the tomb,
 Is touched with keen phosphoric fume;
 Then—hark! the beat of phantom drum.
 From unknown graves they hither come!
 Corpse-candles, floating, pale and dull,
 Yet faintly light each mildewed skull
 As five score spectres shamle past,
 And, at command, are ranged at last
 By those devoted gray walls where
 The pious Brothers lived in prayer;
 For never do these ghosts forget
 Salute to their brave lazaret!
 This grisly midnight promenade,
 These skeletons upon parade,
 You shall have privilege to see
 If you will venture there with me.

Minutes of the January Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1919.

The first meeting for the new year and the annual session of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in the Society's room in the public library building. The president, Judge Landis, presided.

The treasurer's report showed the total financial wealth of the Society was \$917.94. It was the annual report of Treasurer Hostetter and it was ordered received and entered upon the minutes.

On motion an auditing committee was appointed to pass upon the accounts of the treasurer.

The librarian, Harry L. Stehman, presented his monthly report, also his annual report, both of which were received and on motion ordered placed upon the minutes. The monthly report was as follows:

The following exchange periodicals and donations were received by the Society during the past month:

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

Wisconsin Magazine of History for December.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society.

The Journal of American History.

The Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

United States Selective Service Regulations.

The donations consisted of:

"Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania Passed at a Session Which was Begun and Held at the Borough of Lancaster, December 6, 1808," the copy bearing the name of Robt. Coleman.

A booklet of Michael Lebert Chapter of Port Angeles, Washington, from Mrs. T. L. Harrington, of Seattle.

An old German Bible from Miss Moltz of near New York.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.,

Librarian.

On motion Walter A. Zell was elected a member of the Society.

Arthur P. Mylin, of Lancaster, and C. E. Kemper, of Staunton, Va., were nominated for membership.

The annual report of the secretary was read and ordered to be entered upon the minutes.

On motion of Rev. Browne the secretary was ordered to write to the Kiwanis Club a letter of appreciation for their effort in erecting the Honor Roll on the court house plaza.

Miss Spindler raised the question of having compiled a history of Lancaster county's participation in the world war and it was discussed by Mr. Hostetter, Mr. Magee, Mrs. Robinson and Mr. Hollinger.

On motion the president was authorized to appoint a committee to take up the question of compiling data on the local end of the war.

On motion the secretary cast the ballot for the election of the following officers for the ensuing year:

President, Judge Charles I. Landis; vice-presidents, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.; recording secretary, C. B. Hollinger; corresponding secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; assistant recording secretary, John L. Summy; librarian, Harry Stehman, Jr.; treasurer, A. K. Hostetter; executive committee, G. F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, Mrs. S. B. Carpenter, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, L. B. Herr, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, I. C. Arnold, Esq., George Steinman, D. F. Magee, Esq., and H. H. Beck.

The paper of the evening was submitted by Prof. Herbert H. Beck, of Franklin and Marshall College, who had as his subject, "The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777-1778." It was an unusually able paper and brought out some new material on our revolutionary history.

The paper brought forth most favorable comment from the members and on motion a vote of thanks was tendered Professor Beck for his contribution. On motion adjourned.

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

Secretary's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1918.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY :

The outstanding feature in historical matters hereabouts during the year 1918 was the observance of the Centennial of Lancaster City. This Society took a prominent part in the festivities, the president reading a very entertaining paper on early Lancaster history which he supplemented later by a paper on City Hall. While the observance was not on the elaborate scale as originally planned, owing to war conditions, it was of sufficient extent to properly mark this epoch, and it has been duly recorded in our proceedings.

Several valuable papers were contributed by members during the year, adding materially to the steadily increasing volume of historical matter which has been compiled in our twenty-two volumes. There are few historical societies, if any, which can show such a great record of accomplishments in the way of printed matter and in the holding of public gatherings as the Lancaster County Society.

At least three of our members served their country in the national army and navy, and it would be appropriate, it seems to me, to give them some form of recognition when they return. If I recall, action was taken looking to the placing of a service flag in the society rooms and also the displaying of the stars and stripes. This should be carried out and the service flag at least be made a permanent feature of the decorations. The two flags could be combined in some effective way that would add to the attractiveness of our assembly room.

The increase in membership has not been as large as in previous years but the society is holding its own and when conditions again become normal it is believed there will be a more decided trend toward historical matters.

In the secretary's report of last year the suggestion was made that some effort should be made by the society to compile a history of the participation of Lancaster city and county in the world war. No definite steps along this line have been taken, and I believe that the matter deserves the serious consideration of our members. So far as I know no other local organization has taken a move in this direction and it would seem to be our duty as an historical body to take some action in that direction. No better work could be taken up during the year just opened.

The secretary will compile sketches of the members who have passed away during the past year and have them incorporated in the January issue of the pamphlets.

Signed,

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

Librarian's Annual Report.

The year of America's participation in the great war has found the Society's library used to easily the extent of the previous one and not a few persons from other sections have found it of assistance to them in their family research work and matters of more general interest. Numerous inquiries through the mail have also been answered and considerable information given to those who asked for same.

But nevertheless it is felt that the war did interfere somewhat both so far as the using of books and records of the Society is concerned and also in the matter of donations, as people's thoughts were diverted more pronouncedly into unusual channels.

But a number of new books were received and the volumes on the shelves of the library now approximate 2,800. The dozen exchanges of the Society were received regularly and the most important of them set apart for binding, while the others were preserved for use in the form in which they arrived. A half dozen volumes of these exchanges of the preceding year were bound and are now in book form on the library shelves.

The demand for the Society's pamphlets has not diminished and an issue was published, following each meeting, as per custom.

Several volumes of old newspapers were donated, also a few old book prints, some genealogical works and a family history in manuscript.

Most important of the donations to the museum were a Civil War sword, scabbard and belt, in fine condition; and two handsome, well-preserved old-fashioned spinning wheels; as well as a score of photographic plates of interesting local scenes and landmarks of the past.

The expenditures of the year by the librarian were \$3.58 for postage and \$1 for extra room light, paid to the Free Library Association, which leaves a balance of \$1.05 in his hands.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.,
Librarian.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 3, 1919.

Report of the financial condition of the Lancaster County Historical Society of Lancaster, Pa., for the year ending December 31, 1918.

January 1, 1918—Balance on hand	\$ 66.01
Amount received from County Treasurer	200.00
Amount received from dues and membership fees	327.25
Amount received from sale of publication	23.45
Total	<u>\$616.71</u>

Amounts paid by the Treasurer for which orders were regularly drawn by the President and Secretary, as follows:

For rent of rooms to Oct. 1, 1918	\$ 35.00
For bookbinding	9.00
For books and stationery	8.08
For State Federation dues	2.00
For postage	20.00
For printing pamphlets, etc.	350.15
For mailing and dixing	52.22
For wages	2.00
Total	<u>478.45</u>
Balance on hand January 1, 1919	138.26
Total	<u>\$616.71</u>

In addition to the above the Treasurer has in his possession six certificates of deposit issued by the Conestoga National Bank of Lancaster bearing interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum as follows:

\$ 31.63	due	Jan. 8, 1919.
\$253.05	due	Mar. 4, 1919.
\$208.00	due	Mar. 9, 1919.
\$ 25.00	due	Mar. 9, 1919.
\$227.78	due	July 18, 1919.
\$ 34.22	due	Dec. 3, 1919.
<u>\$779.68</u>		

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Treasurer.

Officers of the Society for 1919.

PRESIDENT,

JUDGE CHARLES I. LANDIS.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

C. B. HOLLINGER.

ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY,

JOHN L. SUMMY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

LIBRARIAN,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.

TREASURER,

A. K. HOSTETTER,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

GEORGE STEINMAN,
MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON,
G. F. K. ERISMAN,
D. B. LANDIS,
MRS. S. B. CARPENTER,

MISS DAISY E. B. GRUBB,
D. F. MAGEE, Esq.,
L. B. HERR,
H. H. BECK,
I. C. ARNOLD, Esq.

In Memoriam.

HIRAM E. STEINMETZ.

Hiram E. Steinmetz, a member of the Lancaster Historical Society for many years, died February 21, 1918. Mr. Steinmetz was sixty-four years of age and was born in Clay township, on October 20, 1854, and he attended the township schools. Later he entered Lebanon Valley College, from which he graduated in 1874. Two years later he was appointed postmaster at Clay, the office being in his father's store. He served until 1900, in which year the store property was purchased by A. E. Lane, the present proprietor. Deceased had also been assistant to his father, who served as postmaster during the two Cleveland administrations. Deceased was a staunch Republican. He was a member of the U. B. Church and a trustee of Lebanon Valley College. Mr. Steinmetz was a member of the Historical Society, and he read papers before that body at times.

HOWARD F. RUSSEL.

Howard F. Russel, member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died March 19, 1918. He was a son of John R. Russel and Anna E. (Zimmerman) Russel and was born July 22, 1849. Deceased was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church and of Lodge No. 43, F. and A. M.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE EARLY SILK INDUSTRY OF LANCASTER COUNTY

VOL. XXIII. NO. 2.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1919

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The Early Silk Industry of Lancaster County.

Some time ago, in conversation with Dr. F. R. Diffenderffer, I was surprised to learn to what extent this industry had flourished in our county, about eighty years ago, and he kindly offered me the use of a great deal of information he had on the subject, if I would prepare a paper for this society. I immediately availed myself of the offer and herewith beg to submit to you the result.

Among the most indelibly impressed memories the average mind is capable of reviewing are those of occurrences in childhood's days. Particularly is that the case when we are taught the wonderful works of nature in its various and mysterious forms. When along that line of thought, I can as a child picture to myself two small boxes, with hinged glass tops which occupied conspicuous positions on a "What-not" in our home parlor. The "What-not" in those days was an ornate article of furniture which graced the parlor of nearly every household on the shelves of which were displayed many ornaments and curios such as in these days comprise the contents of a "Curio Cabinet." One of these boxes contained, ornamentally arranged a collection of "Cicada," more familiarly known as the 17-year locusts, migratory and destructive, winged insects, the buzzing sound of whose wings is so familiar to all of us on the hot, sunny days of August. The other box contained a collection of cocoons made by silk-worms nearly all of which many years previously, had been baked so as to kill the worms. A few of the cocoons, however, had been left to nature's ways, and plainly showed the opening through which the matured butterfly, which had been transformed out of the enclosed worm, made its exit from the cocoon. The killing of the worms, above referred to, was done to prevent them from making a hole in the cocoon, and thus destroying some of the delicate silk thread. Many a time when we children were being taught the mysterious workings of nature in the development of these two insects, did we shake the cocoons to hear the noise made by the little ball inside, which we were told in its earlier days was a common ordinary caterpillar.

Another cherished memory in the chapter on childhood's recollections, particularly those of us whose earlier days were spent in the rural districts, was "The old mulberry tree," under which heading an anonymous poet has written the following verses:

"Is there not one among us who wouldn't reserve
Some spot in their earliest days,
When dark, heavy clouds were hung overcast,
And shadowed the sun's golden rays.

Some love a dear cottage, an old rustic seat,
 But what is far dearer to me;
 'Tis not a sly nook in a shady retreat,
 But a darling old Mulberry tree.

This reference to the mulberry tree is prompted by the fact that this species of vegetation figures to a very great extent in silk culture, and will be referred to later.

In a letter written by James Mease before the committee on agriculture, February 2, 1828, as recorded in Document No. 226, House of Representatives, Washington, appears a treatise on the early production of silk and the rearing of silk-worms. From it, we learn that the first record of any efforts in this direction was in the Chinese empire 2,700 years before the Christian era, where nature had provided great forests of mulberry trees upon which large numbers of silk-worms subsisted. When the value of silk became known, the Chinese were taught to construct houses, ships, mills and other useful appliances tending to develop the industry. It was soon discovered that the artificially developed worms produced a far superior product, and great care was exercised in their development. Silk became an article of exportation and soon thereafter other nations became interested in the industry and the demand for silks increased wonderfully with wealth and luxury, the ladies of the Nobility showing a great interest in the project. Among the notable ventures in this direction were those of the island of Cos, in the Grecian empire, Germany, France and Italy.

England beheld with no small degree of jealousy the development of this industry in France and in 1608 King James I. tried to arouse the British to the benefits which they might derive by taking up this industry, but no successful results were attained by them until as late as 1820. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, silk manufacturers had flourished to a considerable extent in England, the raw material having been imported from Italy. The newly awakened zeal for the culture of the raw material was aroused in 1825 when on May 27 *The Times* published an article referring to the incorporation of a company for that purpose. On October 4 of that year the same paper contained an advertisement under the name of "The Royal Charter of the British, Irish & Colonial Silk Co." with a capital of £1,000,000 sterling in shares of £50 each.

Many years prior to this time, however, the people of Philadelphia and surrounding counties were awakened to the importance of this industry, for the proposition was brought before the public there, as early as 1726 by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, yet it was not until 1734 on account of the merchants having great difficulty in making payment for the immense quantities of manufactured goods which were being imported to them from England, proposed that the government provide some means whereby some of these productions be manufactured here, whereupon Gov. Gordon in a letter addressed to the "Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations" (which letter may be found in the minutes of Council, Lib. 1, October 31, 1734) recommends the manufacture of silk and the cultivation of the *Morus multicaulus*. The letter, which reads as follows, is copied from Hazard's Register, Vol. I, page 62.

"The Mulberry tree is likewise so natural to our soil growing wild in the rich lands, and the silk-worm thrives so well that there is a distant prospect of some advances to silk manufacture, which as it affords employment to the weakest hands would be of the utmost advantage. Some amongst us have shown how practicable a design of this kind is, by making small quantities not inferior. I am informed, in goodness and fineness to the best from France or Italy, but persons are wanting to lead us into the way of winding it from the balls, which I understand to be the most difficult part of the work, but as in time this difficulty may be surmounted, I cannot but recommend likewise a manufacture of this kind, as deserving of greatest encouragement, since by promoting it, a valuable addition may be made to the trade of Great Britain."

This letter, however, does not appear to have been fruitful of any results and there appears to have been no further effort made in that direction until 1770 when on January 5 a letter written by Dr. Franklin, who was then in Europe, to Dr. Evans, was submitted to the American Philosophical Society, in which Dr. Franklin referred to a French treatise on the management of silk-worms suggesting that a public flature be erected for the winding of silk from the cocoons and that some provision be made by the assembly for promoting the growth of mulberry trees.

Accordingly the following resolutions were adopted by the society:

1. "That a public flature be established in Philada. and such other places throughout the province as may seem expedient for the winding of cocoons."

2. "That proper managers be appointed to conduct these flatures so that people who may choose to work up their own silk, might do so, also to purchase and wind for public account, all cocoons that may be offered for sale at the flature."

3. "That all persons be encouraged to cultivate mulberry trees, raise silk-worms and bring their cocoons to the flature where not only the same prices will be paid, as are paid for a like product elsewhere, but as an extra inducement, annual premiums will be paid for 5 years from £10 to £15 annually for the largest number of cocoons brought to the flature."

4. "That to enable the managers to maintain such an industry, an amount not less than £500 should be provided by the legislature for the number of years mentioned."

Inasmuch as the Assembly took no action in the matter at its next session, a public subscription was then taken up and in a few days £800 or £900 were collected in amounts from £1 to £20, John Penn subscribing the largest amount. Shortly afterward in 1770 the flature was opened in a house on Seventh Street between Arch and High Streets and seems to have been patronized by growers in many of the surrounding counties.

During the summer of 1771 we find among the list of raisers who sold to this plant Samuel Davis and John Ashbridge, Caleb Johnson, Wm. Henry and Isaac Whitlock, all of Lancaster, who brought to the plant for sale various amounts of cocoons or silk balls in quantities from 4 to 75 pounds. Many cocoons were also raised in private families and during the year 1771 about 3,000 pound avoirdupois was brought there costing not less than £4,000

sterling. This is the first instance wherein we find Lancaster County raisers identified with this industry.

Through the courtesy of our local historian H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., the author of this paper was permitted to make extracts from transcripts which had been previously copied from various issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

In this publication appears on March 15, 1770, an extended article on silk-worms. Here we learn that a great many people in various parts of the province, have turned their attention to the subject, however, the lack of a sufficient number of persons who were able to reel silk properly, and a market for the sale of the silk-balls is a hindrance to the industry. About 10,000 cocoons were spoiled because those who tried to reel it, did not understand how it should be done. On March 22 succeeding the above issue of this paper we learn that a meeting of Philadelphians was held at the court house to promote silk culture.

In this publication we find that on October 3, 1771, the managers for the promotion of silk-culture, submit a petition to the Legislature, in which they state that they have ready to report, 150 pounds, and ask that bonuses or premiums be offered, so as to encourage silk culture. John Ashbridge, of Lancaster, wants one of the prizes for fine silk. In the same publication on July 29, 1772, we find that premiums for the promotion of silk culture were offered as follows: 50,000 cocoons of merchantable quality raised in Pennsylvania, £50; 40,000 cocoons of merchantable quality raised in Pennsylvania, £10; 30,000 cocoons of merchantable quality raised in Pennsylvania, £6; each of 6 raisers who will bring reeled not less than 20,000 cocoons of merchantable quality raised in Pennsylvania, £3.

In Sharp and Westcott's history of Philadelphia, Vol. I, page 262, we learn that 64 families had now enlisted in the new industry, raising from 10,000 to 20,000 cocoons and a bright future seemed in store for the new venture. However, being overzealous, the management paid so much for the cocoons that after discarding those of inferior quality the net result showed a loss. In Vol. 3, page 2312, of this history, we find that prizes having been offered, the first one for the number of cocoons came to Lancaster County, having been won by Susanna Wright, of Columbia, out of her product. Watson's Annals, Vol. 2, page 437, says that the Philadelphia filature made a mantua for Miss Wright, 60 yards in length, also a great quantity of sewing silk. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who at that time represented the company in London, presented this dress-pattern to the Queen, and her majesty promised to wear it on the King's birthday. Samples of it were deposited in the public library. The Assembly thereupon voted the society £10,000. It was in this year (1772) that the historian, Robert Proud, speaks of his visit to James Wright at Columbia, where he saw 1,500 worms at work under the charge of Susanna. She claimed that she could have one million if properly encouraged.

On March 17, 1773, *The Gazette* has this to say: In silk production in Pennsylvania for the greatest number of cocoons and best reeled silk, Lancaster County led the entire state (including Philadelphia) in quantity and quality, the Widow Stoner herself having raised 72,800 cocoons, Casper Falkney 22,845, and Catharine Steiner 21,800. All these raisers were Germans from Lancaster County. Chester County and Philadelphia which were

also striving fell far behind. Sharp and Westcott, Vol. 3, page 2312, says the Widow Stoner won first prize for the largest number of cocoons and Rebecca Parks, also of Lancaster County, won first prize for the best reeled silk. Silk fabric when not openly exposed is said to have surprisingly durable qualities. We read in Watson's Annals, Vol. 2, page 424, that Gov. Dennis' daughter, after having been buried for 30 years was re-interred and the ribbon was so well preserved that the grave-digger's daughter wore it afterwards. On April 7, 1773, the *Gazette* shows an advertisement offering premiums for the largest number of cocoons raised at one crop with claimants family out of which crop 5 per cent. must be reserved for raising good eggs for the following season. The prizes offered were as follows, to wit: For

60,000 cocoons £15 sterling, a silk reel and a copper kettle.

50,000 cocoons 10 sterling, a silk reel and a copper kettle,

40,000 cocoons 5 sterling, a silk reel and a copper kettle.

For best sample of raw silk of applicants raising not less than 32 ounces, a silk reel and copper kettle. For first crop bought before July 1 1773, 3 shillings per 16 ounces; July 25, 1773, 3 shillings, 6 pence per 16 ounces; August 5, 1773, 4 shillings per 16 ounces; August 25, 1773, 4 shillings, 6 pence per 16 ounces, providing they are good and dry.

This early effort at silk raising and manufacturing terminated when the Revolution broke out and was not again revived until 1828 when the *Morus multicaulus* fever sprang up. It was then that the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of the culture of the mulberry and the raising of silk-worms was organized and soon thereafter a new filature was built in Philadelphia. Although it turned out some of the finest product, it was a financial failure and was soon discontinued. The silk culture agitation, however, was continued until in 1835 The Philadelphia Silk Culture & Mfg. Co. and many similar organizations were formed. In 1838 the Pennsylvania Legislature added to the excitement by offering a premium of 20 cents per pound and 50 cents for reel silk produced in the state.

During the succeeding years, special activity was developed in Lancaster County as well as elsewhere and few persons now living have any knowledge of the great excitement caused by the establishment of this industry which promised great returns to its promoters. Thousands of trees were planted. The trees thrived but the silk industry failed. A serious question in the venture was the matter of food for the worms. Many varieties of trees and shrubbery were experimented with, but the only ones on which the worms would thrive were the osage orange, the local black mulberry and the Chinese white mulberry, or *Morus multicaulis*. The worm ate and waxed fat on all of these varieties, but the quality of silk produced from the latter was far more satisfactory than that of the others. The superiority of the latter consisted of its being clothed 15 to 20 days earlier than the other species. The worms therefore matured earlier and many developed before the hot summer weather was upon them. The white mulberry, moreover, not only grows more rapidly, but has more abundant foliage being more delicate and more nutritive thus producing a silk of a much finer quality. As the excitement increased so did also the price of the trees ranging from \$3 per hundred to \$7 per tree. The latter price being named in the American Silk Grower for April, 1839, as having been paid in Northampton, Mass. From these varied

prices we can readily see what opportunity presented itself for enormous profits, for the demand was far greater than the supply.

In the congressional document previously referred to page 57 we learn that mulberry trees can be raised in four different ways: first, from seed; second, from roots; third, from layers; fourth from cuttings. In propagating from seed, it should be steeped in water for several days before sowing, and should then be sown in a light loamy soil, when it will sprout in about two weeks. If grown under favorable conditions they may be transplanted the following season; or perhaps later, if slower in developing. In the *Lancaster Journal* of April 21, 1837, appears the following advertisement: "Chinese mulberry seed—The subscriber can furnish a supply of Chinese Mulberry Seed, if application be made soon. Address the subscriber, Black Horse P. O., Chester County, Pa. John W. Mason." In as much as the rearing of trees from seeds required much care and attention, and required considerable time, the other methods were more popular.

In propagating from roots, a 3 or 4-year old tree was cut off about 6 inches above the ground, when probably 5 or 6 suckers would sprout near the ground. The ground was then heaped around the stem and the suckers would take root and could then be transplanted as separate trees. Raising from layers was done in the springtime when the sap began to rise. The branches of low trees were pinned to the ground with pegs and there covered with ground, after which they soon took root, and could then be detached from the parent tree. In raising from cuttings, sprigs about 10 or 12 inches long were taken from sound and well-grown trees a few years old, and were placed in the ground so that about 3 inches thereof extended above the surface. The wood of a full-grown mulberry tree was very useful for various purposes. It was said to be the most durable wood known for fence posts, and was extensively used for making water vessels, such as barrels, kegs, and the old-fashioned bucket with a wooden lid, known among the old-time farmers as the "Shtitz," which Fisher has so vividly recalled in his poem "Seeding, and the Plow-boy's Song," in his book on "Olden Times." In the early days of the Glacier Spring Water Company of Ephrata, Mr. J. L. Steinmetz told me that he had 9 mulberry barrels made at a cost of \$16 each for shipping water, for it was the only wood available, in which water could be shipped indefinitely without imparting any taste from the wood.

In the "Old Guard" published in this city July 6, 1840, appears the following advertisement:

"Dr. W. L. Atlee offers for sale a superior lot of genuine *Morus multicaulis* trees now growing in the city. Persons may find it to their advantage to call and see his trees before buying elsewhere, at the corner of East King and Lime Streets."

Mulberry trees were planted either in hedges along the borders of fields or in orchards, and to this day, there are the remnants of those hedges, which during severe winters freeze to the ground, and then again grow up in the form of bushes. The *Lancaster Intelligencer* for September 18, 1838, March 26 and May 21, 1839, contain articles and instructions on the culture of the *Morus multicaulis*. To illustrate the magnitude of this industry the *Baltimore Chronicle* informs us that a raiser near that city has sold 15 acres

of *multicaulis* for \$32,500; another sold 2 acres for \$8,000; while a Mr. Alsop refused an offer of \$15,000 for 4 acres.

I have here an exhibit of the silk-worm in its various stages of development, as well as some of the silk, which has been loaned for this occasion by Mr. R. F. Stauffer through the courtesy of our member Mr. Wm. F. Woerner, both of whom are identified with the manufacturing firm of Messrs. Stehli and Company.

The silk moth exists in 4 stages—egg, larva, chrysalis and adult. The egg is nearly round, closely resembling a turnip seed. When first laid it is yellow, soon turning a gray color if impregnated.

The eggs of the silkworm may be kept a long time in a temperature above freezing and below 50 degrees, and can be hatched in 24 hours by placing them in a temperature of 75° or 80°. Then three times a day for 10 days they should be fed on broken mulberry leaves, then for 15 days on whole leaves after which for about 10 days more they can forage for themselves on branches of the trees. During all this time they fast and sleep four or five times, from 10 to 15 hours each time. These are called its molting periods. At each of these molts it sheds its old skin, for the growth of the worm is so rapid that the skin cannot keep place with it. After the last molt the worm hunts a place to make its cocoon, in order to do which it must be able to fasten its body at both ends. If they fail in this, they simply waste their energies in spinning a flat tangled web. It takes the worm 24 hours to spin the cocoon that encloses it. This is a continuous thread about 4,000 yards long. If by accident the thread breaks, that is not only the end of it but the end of the worm. He cannot mend it, he does not begin over again and makes no attempt to do either. He simply drops from his partly made case and dies.

After the cocoons have been dried for about two weeks, the lives of the worms must be sacrificed, so as to preserve the silk. If the worms were not killed they would soon be butterflies, and in eating their way out, would cut the thread into many pieces in which event the silk could only be woven into combed stock like wool or cotton is woven and produce a material of much less value. The worm is killed by either baking or cooking the cocoon, after which the thread may be unwound, and the process of manufacture then begins. To continue the supply of worms some must be allowed to become butterflies, and after this they have only twenty-four hours to live. During that short time they lay from 500 to 700 eggs and then die.

The *Lancaster Intelligencer* on January 1, 1839, announces a meeting of silk growers of Lancaster County to be held on the Saturday following at the house of John H. Duchman. This referred to the hotel later known as the "Leopard" and which now flourishes under the name of "The Weber." Mr. Duchman had formerly conducted a general merchandise store at Blue Ball. The result of this meeting was the organization of "The Lancaster County Silk Growing Society," with Dr. Samuel Parker, a practicing physician of East Petersburg, as its treasurer. It is my pleasure to present to the Society with this paper, the treasurer's account book in which the first entry which the treasurer charges himself with is \$11, for the payment of annual contributions of 11 members on February 2, 1839. On March 2 a similar charge of \$4 appears. On April 17 W. A. Delano, Dr. H. B. Bowman

and Aaron S. Evans were credited with \$1.00 each. On July 6 Maris Hoopes, Wm. Mathiot, W. G. Goheen, J. F. Houton, James Barber and Joseph Konigsmacher likewise made annual payments. On that date Dr. Parker turned over to his successor, as treasurer, Henry R. Reed, \$14.25, being the balance in the treasury. On September 2 Michael Herr paid \$1 as his annual contribution and W. L. Atlee, H. B. Bowman and W. G. Gohen are credited with the payment of \$1.75 in fines. On March 7, 1840, they evidently procured new members, for we find W. G. Goheen, Adam Diller, R. D., and H. P. Carson, A. V. and Christian Herr, Jac Klugh, H. B. Bowman, Hugh Long and Henry Reed each credited with \$1.

The following disbursements were made, June 17, to wit: to Hammersley & Richards, who then had a dry goods store on North Queen Street, \$2; John Kauffman, for rent of room, \$1; R. W. Middleton, who had a book store at 29 North Queen Street, \$7.50; Col. J. W. Forney, \$8.50; Col. Forney was one of the most prominent democrats in this city, who was credited with wielding greater influence in the nomination and election of James Buchanan to the Presidency of the United States than any one else. He was the publisher of the *Intelligencer and Journal* of this city for many years. This last named payment ended the accounts in said book without any funds in the treasury. Henry R. Reed, the above named treasurer, was cashier of the branch bank of Pennsylvania, and was the father of the well-known financier and banker George K. Reed. He lived on South Prince Street, one door north of where George Steinman now resides.

Dr. Henry B. Bowman was a practicing physician at Neffsville. Recorder of Deeds from 1848 to 1852, served two terms in the Legislature in 1862 and 1863, erected a woolen mill at Neffsville in 1856, and died in 1869.

Maris Hoopes was identified with the iron works at Safe Harbor.

Wm. Mathiot was a lawyer with an office in the office building which formerly occupied the site of our Central Market house.

J. F. Houston, a native of this city, held a position in the U. S. Treasury for 50 successive years.

Jos. Konigsmacher was one of the most prominent citizens of northern Lancaster County, was proprietor of the "Mountain Springs" summer resort at Ephrata; was a member of the State Legislature in 1838-39, of the State Senate in 1848. He died at Michael's Hotel, April 4, 1861.

Jacob Klugh was a hotel keeper at Mountville.

Adam Diller was sheriff of this county in 1827.

W. A. Delano was an extensive raiser of trees at Columbia. *The Columbia Courant* says: "Perhaps it is not generally known to the community that there are two gentlemen, Messrs. Delano and Clapp, now in Columbia who are extensively engaged in the cultivation of the *Morus multicaulis* or Chinese mulberry, which is universally conceded to be by far the most profitable species for the rearing of silkworms. They have already about 30,000 trees and intend to enlarge their operations in the spring, as the enterprise has been successful beyond their most flattering anticipations. They also have a large number of trees at Harrisburg. We are informed by Mr. Delano that the cost of buds for planting is 3 cents, and that they are raising 12,000 trees on an acre which they are selling at 50 cents each."

In the same issue of *The Old Guard* previously referred to appears this advertisement:

"Sulphur silkworms and eggs. The subscribers offer for sale a quantity of double crop and single crop silkworms and eggs of a very superior quality from the largest cocoons in the country. These eggs are warranted good and can be had only at the store of R. and H. Carson on West King Street and at the cocoonery of the subscribers 2½ miles south of Lancaster. At either of the above places samples of the cocoons may be seen. Abraham Herr and Christian Herr."

In June, 1839, *The Lancaster Union* issues the following local article on Lancaster County silk: "We were shown a few days ago a number of very beautiful handkerchiefs made of Lancaster County silk, reeled and spun by R. D. and H. P. Carson, merchants of this city. We feel quite confident we never saw a better article of the kind. They were woven in Philadelphia, and were nearly twice as heavy as imported ones of the same size retaining all the softness which characterizes the fabric. We were also shown a quantity of sewing silk, but not having much confidence in our knowledge of such matters, we submitted to the inspection of one in every way qualified to judge of its merits, some skeins presented to us by the manufacturers and it was pronounced to be for evenness of thread, beauty of color and strength not to be surpassed." The Messrs. Carson have an extensive cocoonery and feed a great number of worms. One leaf of the *multicaulis* grown by them this summer measured 15½ inches across. We hope they may succeed fully in an enterprise so beneficial to the community.

The Carson brothers and Henry Reed sent a representative to France to learn the most modern principles of the industry, who returned with glowing reports and giving such information that aroused fresh enthusiasm here. At an expense of \$1,000 they imported a small bundle of cuttings so as to be sure of getting the genuine article, for unscrupulous tree agents were already in the field, selling trees that were not genuine, and not until the leaves appeared could the fraud be detected, when they sometimes proved to be maple or other varieties.

The Carson cocoonery was a long frame building located on West Chestnut Street between Charlotte and Lancaster Avenue. The firm also conducted a general merchandise store on West King Street, adjoining Hager's store. Robert was cashier of the Lancaster County Bank. This lot was afterwards sold to B. B. and J. B. Martin, who sold sufficient ground on the west side of the lot, to the city, for the opening of Lancaster Avenue for the sum of \$1. They sold the cocoonery to a Mr. Dietrich, who removed it to North Queen Street, between James and Frederick Streets, where on the west side of the street, the building was converted into three dwelling houses, one of which, No. 548, a one-story frame dwelling, with dormer windows and a steep flight of steps at the front door, still stands there.

These personal sketches of the organizers of this silk growers society were mostly furnished by Mr. Jonas B. Martin, to whom the author feels greatly indebted. It is plainly evident that the society was composed of many of the leading citizens of the city and county.

Sun Hill, a little hamlet about two miles from Manheim, boasted of two extensive cocooneries, one of which was known as the "Warwick cocoonery"

and was owned by David M. Eberly. It was my good fortune, recently, to call at the home of Mrs. A. S. Kauffman, 921 North Prince Street, this city, who is a daughter of Mr. Eberly. Besides being an expert silk raiser he was one of the most prominent horticulturists in the county. He was widely known as a raiser of the finest kinds of fruits and berries, making a specialty of the luscious strawberry. Among Mrs. Kauffman's treasures are a pair of homespun silk stockings, made in their own family, cocoons in white and cream colors, and numerous skeins of homespun silk, some of which had been exhibited at various fairs and exhibits of agricultural products. She also has in her possession one of two medals which Mr. Eberly had won at the "American Institute" in New York City, on the one side of which, within a wreath of mulberry leaves and heads of wheat is this inscription: "American Institute, N. Y., awarded to D. Eberly for the second best cocoons, 1846." On the reverse side is an American Eagle, mounted on a shield, a lady, a ship, a bobbin, a sheaf of wheat, the horn of plenty, etc. In the report of the state fair held in Lancaster in 1852 we find that a premium of \$5 was awarded to Mr. Eberly for the best exhibit of cocoons. To Miss Harriet Summy, also of this county, \$3 for the second best lot of same variety and \$3 for beautiful specimens of silk spun from cocoons. Mr. Eberly also won a premium of \$3 for the best specimens of raw and reeled silk and \$3 for the best specimens of sewing silk. This cocoonery was, in later years removed to the rear end of the Kauffman lot, where it has been in use as a butcher shop for many years, as it is at this time. Mr. Eberly had an orchard of about 4 acres of *multicaulis* trees.

John Summy, one of Mr. Eberly's neighbors, was also an ardent silk raiser as well as a florist and nurseryman, who had several acres planted in mulberry trees. He was familiarly known by the nickname "Flower Summy."

Jacob Hensel owned a cocoonery and silk mill on New Holland Avenue, near Shippen Street, close to Bachler's greenhouses.

A number of farmers in Manor township became enthused in this new venture, the most extensive of whom were John Wissler and Dr. Mellinger. They planted large tracts in mulberry trees and erected large buildings in which to house the worms, and the outlook was very promising. For several years they prospered until the spring of 1841, when a continuous spell of cold, damp weather, killed many of their worms and caused the raisers to suffer heavy losses. This discouragement was so keen that they abandoned the project, and uprooted many of the trees.

The *Lancaster Intelligencer* of August 7, 1838, announces the arrival of the first number of a monthly magazine issued by Chas. Alexander, Esq., of Philadelphia, conducted by several able silk culturists of New Jersey, known as the "American Silk Grower and Farmers Manual." Subscriptions are solicited by the *Intelligencer*. The writer of this paper is the owner of Volume 1 of this magazine. On page 25 of this volume is a beautiful poem in which Miss H. F. Gould personifies a silkworm, which while feeding on a mulberry leaf was approached by a haughty princess who in scorn and disgust "declared she never yet could see, why a reptile form like this should be," "that she was not made with nerves so firm, as to calmly stand by a crawling worm." "With mute forbearance the silkworm took the taunting

words and the spurning look," and in the last verse gives expression as follows :

No more, said the worm, will I drink or eat !
 I'll spin and weave me a winding sheet,
 To wrap me up from the sun's clear light,
 And hide my form from her wounded sight.
 In secret then, till my end draws nigh
 I'll toil for her, and when I die,
 I'll leave behind, as a farewell boon,
 To the proud young princess, my whole cocoon,
 To be reeled and wove to a shining lace,
 And hung in a veil o'er her scornful face !
 And when she can calmly draw her breath
 Through the very threads that have caused my death ;
 When she finds, at length, she has nerves so firm
 As to wear the shroud of a crawling worm,
 May she bear in mind that she walks with pride
 In the winding sheet where the silkworm died.

Minutes of the February Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., February 7, 1919.

The regular meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in their rooms in the Smith Free Library Building, the president, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding.

The minutes of the January meeting were read by assistant secretary John L. Summy.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter presented a report showing a balance on hand January 1 of \$138.26; Receipts, \$140; Expenditures, \$43.26; Balance, \$235. The report was accepted.

In pursuance of the action of the society, whereby the president was instructed to appoint a committee to take charge of the collection of data concerning the World War the president appointed the following: A. K. Hostetter, Miss Adelaide B. Spindler and H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

The president appointed the following other committees:

Committee on Papers: C. I. Landis, F. R. Diffenderffer and Miss Martha B. Clark.

Committee on Library: I. C. Arnold, D. F. Magee, Esq., Prof. H. H. Beck and the president.

The librarian's report was as follows:

Miss Lottie M. Bausman reported an addition of twenty pieces of manuscript from the years 1716 to 1852 concerning the people of Lancaster County. Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., reported that during the past month the following donations and exchanges in the form of books and magazines have been received:

Kansas Historical Collections, 1915-1918.

Report of Penna. Adjutant-General, 1912.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59.

University of California Chronicle, October, 1918.

Western Reserve Historical Society Collections, December, 1918.

Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, January, 1919.

Linden Hall Echo, December and January.

Springdale—The Huffnagle Mansion and Its Collection, from Henry D. Paxson, of Philadelphia.

Autographed Message of President James Buchanan to Congress, from Lancaster Free Library.

A History of Schenectady During the Revolution by Willis T. Hanson Jr. of Schenectady, N. Y., from the author.

Bound editions of Weekly Aurora presented by Christian Shaub, of Willow Street, and property of the late Dr. J. C. Shaub, from W. L. Sullenberger.

Also presented by Miss Elizabeth Kendig of North Duke Street the following papers to the Historical Society:

1. Two certificates of indebtedness due by the State of Pennsylvania to John Shade and Luken Gabriel Blakeney, respectively, for 107 pounds and 245 pounds in specie, being for depreciation pay from May 1, 1777, to August 1, 1780, issued by the auditors of the State.

2. Quitclaim by John Smith and wife to Abraham Carpenter, March 11, 1806, for property on North Queen Street, 64 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and extending westward to Alley bounded on the north by lot of Casper Shaffner and on the south by George Hartz. Not recorded.

3. Deed dated June 11, 1791, recorded in Book MM, p. 692, by John Carpenter and wife to Mary Smith, farm in Strasburg Township containing 290 acres on Pequea Creek and adjoining John Neff, Geo. Withers and Michael Withers, et al.

4. Indenture dated December 15, 1738—not recorded—for land on Pequea Creek containing one hundred and fifty acres by Mart Bear and Elizabeth, his wife, to Henry Carpenter. Adjoining lands of Henry Hains, Valentine Miller, other lands of Martin Bear and other lands of Henry Carpenter. It being part of three hundred and fifty acres and allowances which Thomas Patton and wife, by deed dated April 13, 1731, and intended to be recorded, granted to Martin Bear.

The auditing committee made report as follows on the annual statement of the treasurer:

LANCASTER, PA., February 5, 1919.

We, the undersigned auditors appointed to examine the accounts of A. K. Hostetter, Treasurer of the Lancaster County Historical Society, do hereby certify that we have duly audited said accounts and find them correct as stated therein, showing the receipts for the year, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year (\$66.01) to have been \$616.71 and the expenditures \$478.45, thus leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$138.26.

In addition to the above the Treasurer has also submitted to this committee the following described certificates of deposit issued by the Conestoga National Bank, bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum.

\$31.63	..... due	..... Jan. 8, 1919.
253.05	..... due	..... Mar. 4, 1919.
208.00	..... due	..... Mar. 6, 1919.
25.00	..... due	..... Mar. 6, 1919.
227.78	..... due	..... July 18, 1919.
34.22	..... due	..... Dec. 3, 1919.
<hr/>		
\$779.68		

All of which is respectfully submitted this 5th day of February, 1919.

L. B. HERR,
D. B. LANDIS,
D. F. MAGEE,

Auditing Committee.

On motion Arither P. Mylin, of Lancaster, and C. E. Kemper, of Staunton, Va., were elected to membership.

A. K. Hostetter brought up the subject of the service flag and President Landis stated that the committee was authorized to go ahead and procure the same.

LANCASTER, PA., January 22, 1919.

The following communication was read by the secretary and ordered placed upon the minutes:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW ERA:

Dear Sir: The paper on "Fulton Hall and its Graven Image," recently read before the Lancaster Historical Society, when printed in pamphlet form should have an engraving of the original front of the building, which somewhat differs from the present. The architect's plan, with his name on it, is either with the Historical Society or Judge Landis. I gave it to the latter.

Mr. Hager is mistaken when he says that John Sehner (1798-1864) built the Masonic Hall and Trinity Lutheran Church. The Masonic Hall was built by the corporation of Lancaster and Lodge 43 F. A. M. in 1798, before his time. His brother Godlieb was not a carpenter and builder, but an edge tool maker, afterwards in the lumber business, which still remains in the hands of his son, J. Fred. Sener. The Godlieb Sener mentioned in the building of the Masonic Hall was of another family.

Trinity Lutheran Church, the corner stone of which was laid in May, 1761, was during the pastorate of Dr. Krotel in 1853 remodeled in the interior, and John Sehner was the contractor. He was the father-in-law of the writer.

If you desire to use the above, that history may be set right, please spell John Sehner's name as I have written it. His branch of the family always spelt it that way, while the others spelled it Sener. Thanking you in advance.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE H. ROTHEMEL.

Mr. Hager was shown this, and very much regretted the errors; and suggested that the correction be read before this Society and entered upon its minutes, so as to correct the matter historically.

Mr. Hager also calls attention to a misprint in the name of the engineer Frederick Graff (the last name being misspelled "Groff") on page 147 of the pamphlet that contains his article.

The Recording Secretary was authorized by the chair to acknowledge all donations to the Society in future and also to continue notifying new members of their election into the Society.

The President reported that he had consulted with the Post Office Department concerning placing the out-of-town members on the second class postage list, which if accomplished will reduce the cost of mailing the pamphlets.

Mrs. A. K. Hostetter brought up the question of a permanent home for the Society and suggested that we all strive for that goal. Remarks on the subject were made by Judge C. I. Landis, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, D. B. Landis and C. B. Hollinger.

The paper of the evening was read by A. K. Hotetter on "The Early Silk Industry of Lancaster County." It was discussed by D. F. Magee, D. B. Landis, Judge C. L. Landis, F. R. Diffenderffer and I. C. Arnold. On motion a vote of thanks was extended the author and the paper was placed in the hands of the committee for publication.

On motion adjourned.

Signed,

J. L. SUMMY,
Assistant Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

LETTERS OF HON. JOHN STROHM
OUTLINE OF JOHN STROHM'S CAREER IN CON-
GRESS
MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING

VOL. XXIII. NO. 3.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1919

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Letters of Honorable John Strohm.

I shall not attempt to disguise the pleasurable feelings that I entertain in being privileged to appear before this organization devoted to the achievements of this historic county. I claim a perfect right to feel at home here, for I am a true Lancaster Countian by ancestral proxy at least. No less than seven generations of my forbears sleep beneath your sod, and all my progenitors apparently had to live for some time at least in this county before they could feel qualified to take up abodes and successfully to pursue their vocations elsewhere.

It has been my good fortune to discover among the manuscripts in the Division of Public Records in the State Library numerous copies of letters by the Honorable John Strohm and yet more addressed to him when he was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Through the courtesy of Hon. John H. Landis of Millersville I am privileged also to make use of letters written to Mr. Landis' father, Jacob H. Landis, by Mr. Strohm while he was a representative in Congress from this district.

It is not my purpose to write a biography, but rather to summarize the contents of these letters in order to bring them to the attention of your society and make them available for the historians of your county. Yet a very few words on his political career are in order here. He was a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania from Lancaster County from December 6, 1831, until the adjournment of the second session of the 44th House, April 15, 1834. His last term was the first term of Thaddeus Stevens, who then entered as a representative from Adams County.

Mr. Strohm became a member of the State Senate December 2, 1834. Here he met Charles B. Penrose, grandfather of the present U. S. Senator, who was serving his second term. December 4, 1838 he began his second term in the State Senate, this time as a representative of Lancaster and York Counties. In January, 1842, he was elected Speaker of the Senate.

Of Mr. Strohm's connection with "The Buckshot War" I quote the following from Col. A. K. McClure's "Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania," Vol. 1, page 54.

"The appearance of the military had little effect. as the mob was discreetly careful to avoid conflict with the troops. With the mob practically controlling the legislative halls inside, and the militia keeping peace outside, the house kept up the farcical contest between the two speakers until, after a considerable period of disorder, Senator John Strohm, of Lancaster, an Anti-Mason of high character and intelligence, deserted his party and gave the casting vote in favor of recognizing the Hopkins house.

"That practically ended the controversy, as when an Anti-Masonic senate had recognized a Democratic house there was no longer any basis for con-

tinuing the contest. Strohm was bitterly denounced for what was regarded as an act of apostacy, but he lived long enough to be generally and earnestly commended by all good citizens of every political faith for having had the courage to be honest, at the expense of party favor, in the severest crisis that ever confronted the State. Stevens moved to Lancaster some years thereafter and I remember seeing him there in 1851 when I was a delegate to the Whig State convention, and aided in nominating John Strohm as the Whig candidate for canal commissioner. I met Stevens soon after the convention adjourned, and asked him how he regarded the nomination of Strohm. He answered in his curt, grim way: 'He's our candidate now and I forgive him.' He was in Congress during the Mexican War, and one of the thirteen Whigs of the body who had the courage to vote against an appropriation to the army in Mexico because the act began by declaring that 'we are at war by the act of Mexico.' The Whigs moved to strike the offensive, and as they believed untrue, statement from the bill, but were defeated by a party vote, and when they had to meet the question of voting for the bill containing the false statement of historical facts, or vote against appropriating money for the army, all but thirteen supported the measure, but John Strohm believed it to be untrue, and he resolutely voted against the bill. He lived to a ripe old age, and died universally beloved by his people."

Mr. Strohm was a member of Congress from 1845 to 1849.

This collection consists of apparently accurate copies of private letters written by Mr. Strohm to his cousins, John, Henry, and Emanuel Herr in Niagara County, near Buffalo, New York, while the writer was a teacher and farmer; of private letters written by his cousin Isaac Strohm; of numerous letters written by his constituents and friends and the original letters written by him to Mr. Jacob H. Landis, already referred to.

The first of these letters is dated September 27, 1816, and is addressed to

"COUSIN JOHN HERR,

"NR. WILLIAMSVILLE,

Niagara County, N. Y.

"We are all in good health except Hetty. . . . I have commenced teaching school again, where I taught before, and intend to continue it until May and then if God spares me health and strength, I propose making a visit to you and enjoy a repetition of those hours which have been so agreeably passed in your company, and of which the bare recollection is capable of raising pleasing emotions."

TO JOHN HERR, JANUARY 26, 1817.

"Received yours of October 24 by the hand of Abraham Graff. Christian Bear died December 16th. Andrew McLaughlin died Tuesday in consequence of a wagon running over him the evening before.

"Uncle David Herr is to move in the Spring from John Neffs to Michael Barr's Mill which he has rented for three years at \$500 per annum."

He then gives prices as follows:

"Wheat \$2.50 at home and \$3.00 at Wilmington.

"Rye—1.30 .

"Corn—1.12½

"(Considerable quantities are purchased by Millers from the lower end of the County and from State of Maryland where a report says the hard hand of famine already presses hard on the poor.) There is a report here that John Herr and his friends had like to have been put to trouble when they were out there, in fact that they had precipitately to leave the country in order to escape going to prison, they deny it and I am disposed to believe them, but expect the truth from you."

JOHN STROHM TO COUSIN HENRY HERR, MARCH 30, 1817.

"Uncle Jacob Witmer and his family intend to start for Ohio in about six weeks.

"John Haines has been at Philadelphia and got the Polypus in his nose extracted."

In this letter he also expresses his satisfaction that the report regarding John Herr is unfounded.

TO COUSIN EMANUEL HERR, SEPTEMBER 28, 1817.

Announces the death of his sister Hetty which occurred while on his trip to New York City.

TO COUSIN EMANUEL HERR, NOVEMBER 24, 1817.

"Our election is over and Wm. Findlay is Governor by between 4 and 5,000 of a majority. The Federals were completely successful in our country. Jasper Slaymaker, John Forry, Hugh Martin, Emanuel Reigart, Henry Ham-bright and Joel Lightner are our assemblymen and Wm. B. Ross is Commissioner. Parties never ran so high in this state before and should this infernal spirit continue to rise in the same proportion for twenty years to come as it has the last ten years God only knows what the consequence will be."

TO EMANUEL HERR, DECEMBER 26, 1817.

"... "I am now happy to inform you that on tuesday last I gave my hand to one who has long been my Mistress of my heart and that is Susanna Bear, daughter of John Herr. In her, I expect to find a cheerful companion, a sincere friend, and an affectionate wife with whom I intend to tread the mazy round of life in harmony and love."

TO HENRY HERR, JUNE 3, 1818.

"I live in a house formally occupied by Joseph Mooney where we had the debating school once."

TO EMANUEL HERR, OCTOBER 3, 1819.

"Cousin John Witmer is teaching school at the new sandstone school house. . . . Land is 50% lower than some years ago. Grain is very low. Wheat a dollar a bushel, Rye 60 cents and Corn 50.

"Address your letters to Lampeter Square as there is a post office there now."

On December, 1820, he reports hard times, wheat being 70 cts., corn 35 cts., rye 50 cts., oats 25 cts. and on April 1, 1821, he writes that "he has quit teaching and commenced farming on the place where Jacob Herr formally lived. Wheat sells between 55 and 60 cents per bushel, rye 26 to 28, corn 37½ to 40 cents, oats 20 to 22 per bushel. I bought some at 20."

TO COUSIN EMANUEL HERR, SEPTEMBER 20, 1821.

"There are many sick people in our neighborhood particularly along Big Beaver Creek. In almost every house about the Black Horse there are two or three that have got the Ague. In Christian Schultz's there are no less than six."

He then refers to the Internal Improvements projected by the Legislature. He speaks of the Union canal connecting Susquehanna with the Delaware, but says that "an improvement of greater utility has lately been made by some of our enterprising citizens. Mr Jacob Strickler, of Columbia, has constructed a boat with sails, which is to sail regularly from Middletown, Marrietta and Columbia to Port Deposit. She is called the Lady Lightfoot and has made several trips taking down about 130 bbls. of Flour, and at one time returned with 6½ tons of Plaster, 17 bbls. Herrings, 9 bbls. shad and 1½ tons groceries. Although the water is low, she passes up and down with ease and safety. She made a trip in about 5 days. There are several other such boats built or building at Columbia and Marrietta some of which will carry from 350 to 400 bbls. of Flour. It is calculated that the craft now prepared at Columbia Marrietta etc. will carry 1200 bbls to the head of tide weekly and in high water from 1700 to 2000."

In a letter of January 2, 1825, to Emanuel Herr he gives a large list of bankrupt farmers, and on the 30th of April he says: "John Herr's society is increasing very fast. There were 21 persons baptized last Sunday and there are a number of others that have made application."

TO EMANUEL HERR, AUGUST, 1827.

"John Neff, Sr., with Francis Kendig Sr. and John Herr' brother-in-law went to Ohio on a visit.

"The Morgan affair is quite probably an electioneering scheme."

TO EMANUEL HERR, MAY 3, 1828. .

"Is there any truth in the rumor that Morgan was discovered in Asia Minor in the garb of a Turk and that he has embraced the faith of Mahomet."

He differs with his cousin Emanuel in politics, slightly favors Jackson, and predicts that the latter will carry Pennsylvania and New York.

The letters of Isaac Strohm, Senator Strohm's cousin, a few of which are written from Lancaster County and the remainder from Ohio where he taught school and clerked in a store show unusual ability and discriminating political foresight. Isaac is frank and does not hesitate to differ with his more famous cousin. It is to be regretted that the limits of this paper compel too brief an account of this correspondence.

FROM ISAAC STROHM, LAMPETER, FEBRUARY 16, 1833.

This letter expresses difference of opinion with reference to the admission of negroes into the State "We should pass laws prohibiting them from coming into our state."

As regards the bill authorizing the Governor to purchase 53 copies of Hazard's Register, "I agree that it is mocking the farmers and wasting the publick money. It put me in mind of blowing Buchanans bellows all day. A farmer would be at some *hazard* to get the reading of it when he wanted it and I very much doubt if the gentleman who got up the bill has not *hazarded* his popularity."

Isaac Strohm writes (Dec. 13, 1833):

"Buchanan might as well have staid at St Petersburg and better would it have been for our State if McKean had never been born.

"Rush lights it seems, are not valued more than farthing candles. I dont think this is altogether clever. Let me know how the whole team of Anti-Masonry pulls."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, LAMPETER, MARCH 25, 1835.

"On resuming my pen, I will let you know that I saw Daniel Webster too, but had no introduction to him. I was at Mr. Coopers on Saturday last. and seen him stepping in. On shaking hands with Mr. Cooper, he took of his hat, and displayed a forehead that would bear a phrenological examination.

"So you fellows in the Senate have repealed the School Law. I showed your letter to David, and after reading it till where you expressed a hope that the House would agree to the repeal, he threw it away and would not read another word of it, I state this at his request. Benjamin Herr was with us to day. He says he will write to Stevens—He is of the opinion, that with the aid of Mr. Stevens' talents the School Bill will be saved. If I may express a hope on the subject, it is, that it would undergo some necessary alterations, and have a longer trial. The Strasburgers' are not yet over their scrape, as you will see by their motions. A pretty cute trick of Mr. T. B. Burrows to screen his sentiments under the skirts of a public meeting. But, as the address of said meeting says 'rumour is my authority' I expect a real grid-iron review of these proceedings in the newspapers, by Ellick over his proper signature. If that happens—Wo! be to 'Lord Darby.'"

FROM ISAAC STROHM, ROSSVILLE, OHIO, JUNE 26, 1836.

"I perceive that you have been 'Gerrymandering' in the Legislature, and taking steps to secure a majority of your faith in both branches. If all is fair in politicks, it may do well enough. So that you beat Van Buren (which I think you can) no odds for the means. I begin to entertain hopes of the Gen's success. This State will go for him. Such is the opinion of our knowing ones, amongst others, Ex. Gov. Morrow. This county is the stronghold, but many original Jackson men will not go for 'heir apparent.' Indeed I rarely meet with an intelligent man that is any ways decent that is in favor of the Jackson dynasty. Perhaps the expression smacks a little of Aristocracy, but I venture to say that if Van is elected it will be by the 'tag rag and bobtail' of society."

LETTER OF ISAAC STROHM, MAD RIVER, GREEN COUNTY, OHIO, APRIL 15, 1837.

"I remained a couple of days in Dayton where I saw many old acquaintances and had introductions to several new ones—among which was the Hon. Thos. Corwin of Lebanon, who was at Dayton on business. He is a fine looking fellow, and in general appearance resembles Atty Baldwin of Lampeter."

LETTER OF ISAAC STROHM, DECEMBER 31, 1837.

"Governor Ritner's message I gave a hasty perusal. I would not give a fig for his abolition on notes under 10 dollars. Our country would not have got along half so well had it not been for small bills. That part of Ritners relative to Common Schools I opine is from the pen of the *Supe* himself. My dander always begins to rise when I hear and see laudatory things said of Tom on account of his friendship to common schools and Education. After opposing the system as he and Lord Darby have done—then pretend love for education comes with an ill grace from them."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, OHIO, JULY 22, 1838.

"Politics are looking up" Vance will be re-elected. Tom Ewings seat in the U. S. Senate will be secured and whether Harrison, Clay or Webster is the Presidential candidate this state goes the right way. The old General is travelling for 'effects' eating dinners, etc., a bad business. There is much noise about him in some portions of the state, as much, I believe, out of courtesy for him as from a sincere desire that he will be nominated for I really think Clay has more friends than he. I am inclined to think the latter will be the man, even if we must elect him without Pennsylvania."

FROM ISAAC STROHM, SEPTEMBER 16, '38.

"I am pleased to see your name on the ticket for re-election to the Senate. Benjamin Herr informed me that Reigart was to be your competitor in Convention, but I saw by the Examiner that he was cute enough to decline when he saw the complexion of the delegation.

"It appears that John A. Schulze figures as a Ritner man. No matter. His influence will be little anyway. I did not like the man when I was a boy and have seen little yet that would induce me to change my opinion."

ISAAC STROHM WRITES FROM BATHPORT, NEAR FAIRFIELD, GREENE CO., OHIO,
OCTOBER 27, 1838.

"The great struggle is over and we as you doubtless know, as well as you Pennsylvanians have been beaten by a talented young gentleman—You by a moral and political rascal—else the truth telling anti-mason papers lie.

"And do you not blush to see the circular issued by Thos. Henry Burrows. Is he writhing under the sentence passed upon him that with Ritner he must wheel and file off.

"I had hoped to see the Examiner change its *allfred* character after the election, but it appears the hobby (excuse me) of anti-masonry must be mounted again."

Interesting are the letters received by Mr. Strohm from his sons.

The first of these bears date, March 20, 1835. It is from Henry and conveys the information that "Henry Herr says he will come to Lancaster on the first day of April and that you might come along with him out if you choose. He said he would take the dearborne along. Henry Lyner sowed the clover seed this week."

On March 16, 1837, his son John wrote:

"The master quit keeping school on teasday (Tuesday) I went around the fences and shut them up wherever they needed it. I expect we must pick stones now. Our pigs are getting prettier every day. Henry was at home on Sunday, and he is coming on very well."

His son Henry writes, January 28, 1838, that he likes his trade and place very much.

On the second of February, 1838, his daughter Mary writes a brief letter referring chiefly to the weather and the prevalent illness.

On the tenth of February, 1838, John, Jr., gives the information regarding butchering and the school and the rapid disappearance of the hay and fodder; that "Christly Schulze has got the mare yet and I am very glad of it," that "Emanuel is going to school until the first of March."

DECEMBER 9, 1833.

Wm. M. Baxter urges support of charter for Elizabethtown, and thanks him, December 20, for presenting it.

Wm. Heister writes from Washington, December 10, 1833:

He regrets that Rush could not unite Anti-Masonic Vote. Gen. McKean was elected. "Rush should not have volunteered his sentiments of approbation to the Executive on the occasion of the removal of the deposits of the bank controversy."

Heister further says: "We shall be likely to have a great deal of talk on the subject of the removal of the deposits, but in my judgment it will all end in talk, inasmuch as according to the orthodox creed of the dominant party, the Executive can do no wrong and must be sustained at all hazards and under all circumstances."

Samuel Wagner writes December 12, 1833:

"I am told there is considerable warmth among the citizens of the North-eastern part of the county who resides within the section intended to be embraced in the proposed new county."

DECEMBER 12, 1833.

Richd E. Cochran of Columbia writes on behalf of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Columbia asking for incorporation of that body.

MARCH 21, 1834.

David Herr writes: "I wish you would try if possible to come home for we need you badly. We wish to have Benjamins Seven acres measured of so that we could get the fencing done before the corn is planted, and we want you to make the survey."

DECEMBER 6, 1835.

He writes from Strasbury that "the Anti-Masonic party in the county of Lancaster will feel much aggrieved if his Exelency will appoint Thomas H. Borrowes as Secretary of State."

"COLUMBIA March 31 1835

"JOHN STROHM Esqu

"*Dear Sir*

"I take the liberty of introducing to you accquainten Mr Joseph Cothell of this place who visits your town for the purpose of getting some acts passed relative to our road from Marietta to Middletown any assistanc you can give him to further his object I will take as a particular favor.

"I am respectfully yours

"C HALDERMAN "

"LANCASTER July 20, 1836

"AMOS ELLMAKER to JOHN STROHM Esq.

"*Des*

"*Col*: Pleasonton is one of a committee appointed by the military of Philadelphia to petition the legislature for some law relative to the organization of volunteers—

"Permit me to introduce him to you. He graduated at West Point military academy some years ago—and is now a practising atty. in Phila. He is a gentleman of fine talents and excellent education—amiable and honorable in the highest degree—

"I am respectfully

"your obd svt

"AMOS ELLMAKER."

DECEMBER 17, 1836.

Soln. Diller refers to the resolutions of a meeting held at Blue Ball's relative to the formation of a new county to be formed of parts of Lancaster, Chester and Berks and enclosing a copy of Lancaster Examiner containing the meetings proceedings.

"EPHRATA March 25, 1838.

"*Dear Sir*:"

"Feeling much interested in the education of the rising generation and the establishment of a general school system I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject, though I have not a child nor kin to be benefitted by it. And as my family have all had their education and neither of them married, what I shall say cannot be imputed to interested motives. :

"The 'School System' has always been defeated in this district, by the arbitrary and overawing measures of the rich avaricious landholders, who are too ignorant to see the benefits of the provision of the 'School Law' and too selfish to allow the power class the advantages it affords.

"One instance will afford a general view of the state of things in this township. One of my neighbors, a very wealthy man, a short time before the election, put up advertisements to excite the prejudices of the property holders, and produced an enactment which made all their poor tenants, who are dependent upon the landlord, (though they have many children whom they are not able to give an education) to go to the polls against their wishes and vote against the means to have their children educated or be cast out of their places.

"Disgraceful as-is such conduct, much more disgraceful proceedings have been openly practiced. This class of people have managed to get into the office of holding the elections; and at our last election, on 16th inst. the officers holding the election refused to be qualified, as the law required, and consequently could dispose of the votes as they pleased. The result was a 'beggarly account' for the School System—making it appear that nearly three to one was cast against it—while the year before it was lost only by six or eight votes.

"Under these circumstances there is not any prospect of having justice done to the 'System' or to the poor children and my object in addressing you is to see if some other plan cannot be devised to secure the present appropriations due to the township (Cocalico) to the poor who are thus arbitrarily deprived of it.

"Could not a provision be introduced to accomplish this object. Either a general amendment or a special one for this turnpike,—to appropriate the sum now due, and according, to the education of the children of non-freeholders; to be paid through the commissioners; for it would not be considered safe to place the money in the hands of men, the 'school men' who have publicly manifested such a wanton disregard of duty and justice in having themselves elected into office, by such foul means, to keep down the poor.

"BENJ. KONIGMACHER."

"MARTIC TOWNSHIP LANCER. CO. NEAR

NEW PROVIDENCE April 11th 1843.

"HON. CHARLES B. PENROSE.

"*My Dear Sir:*

"As Congress is not now in session I trust that your official duties are so far diminished as to allow you a little relaxation, and perhaps give you leisure to attend to private correspondence without neglecting more important business. In your last letter to me, (dated Dec. 5th, 1842) you stated that the present Administration was inclined to regard party conflicts with indifference, and to look more for patriotism and less for party success. Judging from some circumstances that have transpired since that time I feel disposed to think that you were correct at least as far as relates to party success; for it seems to me that John Tyler is perfectly indifferent as to what party obtains the ascendancy, provided he can succeed in being re-elected. His recent appointments and nominations to office, comprise not only men from each of the two great parties into which the people of the United States are divided but evince a disposition to keep fair weather with the different

clans and factions into which those parties, are subdivided. To be in favor of Cap. Calhoun, Van Buren, Buchanan, or Scott constitutes no serious objection to the dispensation of his favors but to manifest a partiality for Henry Clay is an offence that cannot be overlooked or forgiven. If I am wrong in this, upon what grounds have Jonathan Roberts, Thomas Sr. Smith, Solomon Van Ranslear and a number of others been removed, and violent Loco focos though preferring different candidates for presidents appointed in this plan. Notwithstanding all the liberal professions made by his Excellency, his attachment to patriotism and merit more than to party success, there appears to be more persecution for opinions sake, under the present administration than was ever experienced under any former one. Such at least are my impressions, and such seems to be the general opinion. It is true, I may have been led into error in some particulars, as the testimony I receive is all on one side, for I never see a paper, or meet with an individual who will undertake to defend John Tyler's Course or Conduct. Some of the Democrats (alias Locofocos) approve of some of his actions, yet I have conversed with no one who was willing to vote for him, on the contrary, I have met with several, who say that, if Buchanan is not the Candidate of their party, they will vote for Henry Clay.

"In your last, you were pleased to advert to the different views and feelings with which you now contemplate the scenes of excitement and party strife thro which you and I have witnessed and in which we participated, compared with the emotions which animated your bosom at the time those scenes were passing. May I take the liberty to ask whether the opinion you once entertained of James M Porter is among those which now seem to have been greatly exaggerated? And whether your prejudices and prepossession in regard to his conduct as president Judge of the the Court of Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County in 1839 have become so 'modified and mellowed down' as to enable you to approve of his appointment to the elevated station which he now holds. For my own part, although I could not approve of Mr Porter even in many things, and particularly on the occasion above referred to, yet I always felt a friendly feeling towards him and had given him credit for a considerable degree of talent and ability and if we must have a Locofoco in the Cabinet from Pennsylvania I am as well content that he should enjoy the honour as any other of the party.

"We have a great many rumours about changes and appointments at Washington one half of which I suppose are the mere conjectures of persons, who have no means of obtaining accurate information on the subject. It gives me pleasure however to observe that amongst the numerous changes spoken of, even Madam Rumour, with all the license usually accorded to her invention fang, has not hinted at a change in the Solicitors office.

"I would like very much to have your opinion in regard to who you think will be the candidate of the so called Democratic party for president.

"With my best wishes for your welfare I remain

"Your humble Servant

"JOHN STROHM."

LANCASTER March 22d 1837.

"MR. STROHM

"Sir:

"We the undersigned Committee appointed on behalf of the 'Mechanics Society,' to address you, requesting your aid and influence in striving to procure for our Institute a small Legislative Appropriation. To enable us to establish it on a more permanent basis, and to enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

"Our reasons for applying more particularly at this period, is the recent notice we have seen, that the Phila. and Pittsburgh, Institutes are each about receiving liberal appropriations.

"The Society was established in 1829 solely by the Mechanics of Lanc., for the purpose of founding a Library and School, for Apprentices, the former now contains about 1400 Vols, and the latter owing to the want of funds, we were unable to put in operation untill the present winter, when we obtained the services of several Philanthropic gentlemen, who have taught, and delivered Lectures gratuitously.

"This Institution like many others ere this have dwindled into insignificance, but the unwearied efforts of a few disinterested individuals, who have spared neither time or money, has gradually, though unobtrusively became of some consequence to our City. A large number of Apprentices, have weekly access to the Library gratuitously, and an equal number have had an opportunity of attending an evening School, in which all the branches of a first rate Education were taught, and a Lecture delivered weekly, which we have no doubt will be attended by the most beneficial effects.

"H. C. LOCHER,

"HENRY PINKERTON,

"PETER M CONOMY,

"LOUIS C. JUNGERICHE,

"HENRY E. LEMAN."

LANCASTER, April 6, 1838.

"Gentlemen—The undersigned, a deputation from the Mechanics' Society of the City and County of Lancaster, have been appointed to ask, at your hands, Some determined effort toward the obtainment of the long-solicited appropriation to that body. We shall not urge our wants—Since the most undeserving might plead the same. We humbly inquire, 'Are we not deserving? Have we not battled long and steadily against adversity, and finally established ourselves upon a footing where benefit and satisfaction to ourselves were the unavoidable result, as well as to community at large? If we are not worthy reject our petition: But if, in our object, you observe aught of that great principle of Educational policy which the State has taken under its especial charge. If you see how anxious we are and long have been to perfect some code of instruction to the young. If you can see how much Society is indebted to voluntary exertions. If you know the benign results of good deeds, take us, we entreat you, under the broad wing of general legislation.'

We appeal to you late; but, 'better late than never'. We ask you on the

brink of adjournment; but we are confident you will reflect how much can be done in a little time.

"JOHN STROHM

Esquires
Senate

"JAS. A. CALDWELL

"PETER M CONOMY
"JOHN W. FORNEY
"PETER G. EBERMAN
"DANIEL RHOADS
"CHARLES GILLESPIE
"HENRY PINKERTON
"JACOB MCHARMONY
"ELI. J. PARRY
"DAVID A. DONNELLY
"CN PEIEFFER"

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, APRIL 28, 1846.

"The Oregon Question has been disposed of. Appearance of Public Grounds much better than when you were here. But this applies only to the Public Grounds. In this neighborhood none of the luxuriant wheat fields, and richly blooming clover fields of which every where greets the eye of the traveller in our native county."

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, MAY 16, 1846.

"Occupied very little time in passing the important war measure we have been consuming much time in unimportant discussion.

"It is calculated of some who have an opportunity of knowing the facts that the whole expenditures of the Government at this time is not much short of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars per day."

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, AUGUST 5, 1846.

Pays his respects to the Loco foco tariff and longs for the time when he can return to Lancaster County.

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, FEBRUARY 15, 1847.

"Whilst I am writing we are taking the vote on the Slavery question. The Wilmot proviso has ben inserted in Committee of the whole. I like to see this. I think it will do much towards bringing about a peace, for if the Southern men find that they cannot have an acquisition of Slave territory they will all be against a further prosecution of the war."

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, FEBRUARY, 1848.

"The efforts to make a turnpike road from Lancaster to Millersville is worthy of encouragement."

He then condemns the new Tariff, predicts that the war will last another year and concludes his discussion of natural issues as follows: "I hope the eyes of the people will be opened to some extent, so as to enable us to elect a Whig President, and then the current of things will be changed, though it will take a long time for the Country to recover from the injuries inflicted by the Administration of James K. Polk.

"The Presidential question begins to be agitated a good deal here. The Taylor men are very sanguine. For my part I don't like General Taylor as a candidate, but if he is settled we shall have to put up with it."

TO JACOB H. LANDIS, JUNE 3, 1848.

"A few days ago I made a report on Mr. Secretary Walker's report on the finances which excited a great commotion in the Loco foco ranks. They kicked and floundered a good deal and accused me of unfairness towards the Secretary.

"It seemed to touch a tender spot. The Secretary prides himself on his knowledge of figures and his accuracy of calculation, and to find his sublime calculations commented on, and criticized by a Pennsylvania farmer and a dutchman at that, seems to worry him and his friends very much."

He then reviews the pre-convention situation in the Whig party and predicts the nomination of General Taylor.

Let us give you a single attempt at poetry. One of Strohm's letters to New York closes with these lines:

"After plowing all day I write this by candle light,
Having no more to say I bid you my friend good night,
May the blessings of heaven attend you always
May peace and contentment be yours all your days,
When o'er life's path you may cheerfully roam
And enjoy the best wishes of your old friend

"JOHN STROHM."

Outline of John Strohm's Career in Congress

From the beginning Congressman Strohm's career was marked by a deep concern for internal improvements in the country. He gave his attention early, to the development of the Columbus and Sandusky Turnpike which the company was to build and extend in consideration of 49 sections of public land given to them as an inducement to make the improvement (Cong. Globe, Vol. 15, pp. 83 and 279).

He was also interested in having a canal built on the Ohio River to avoid the falls of Louisville (p. 352).

He was very careful to insist that improvements must not be partially distributed, and that they must be given to the whole country. At first he held there could be no improvements provided for under the constitution except they promote general welfare.

He was greatly concerned about the protective tariff of 1842; and labored for a provision in the improvement grants, that if the tariff were repealed none of the money allotted for improvements should be spent (p. 523).

He labored for the passage of a bill for the relief of Robert Fulton's heirs (pp. 1115 and 6).

His most notable service was for the preservation of the high tariff of 1842. Sir Robert Walker's views on tariff were gaining ground as a result of England's reduction of tariffs inspired by him, and it was being urged that we should gain a great foreign market if we lowered our tariff. The proposed Walker tariff was introduced in 1846, as a successor of the tariff of 1842, and it was enacted with dire results ending in the panic of 1857.

Strohm's arguments in favor of the high tariff of 1842 and against the proposed low tariff of 1846 are to be found in Globe, 15, p. 1027, and in Vol. 16, p. 981, the Appendix. He argued:

1. This is the first time in our history that we reverse our policy of fostering industries and turn to destroying them.
2. That only a revenue tariff is constitutional is an idea long abandoned—our revenue tariffs hurt business and did not produce revenue—destructive.
3. This is the first time discriminating duties are to be used to destroy—not to help.
4. The proposed tariff will prostrate domestic manufacture.
5. It will cause a loss of millions of invested capital.
6. It will not give the farmer an advanced price for grain in England, though the corn laws of England be repealed because we are too far from her market—nearer ones get it.
7. The laborer is cut off from his labor and we will pay an increased price for foodstuffs.

8. Farmers will lose hauling for forges and furnaces, as they will be closed—and will lose these people as customers.

9. The only persons who will profit will be importers.

But the protective system:

1. Promotes resources.

2. By thus promoting, our growth in strength will be our defense instead of standing armies.

3. Our country will be made thereby one of true independence, as we can develop and live without other nations.

4. We will prosper and enable the states to pay their debts to foreign nations held largely against them—and thus establish our credit.

5. Our resources thus established can and ought to be used to build improvements in peace beneficial to our citizens, and to make a happy people.

6. Thus we will extend commercial relations to all sections of our vast country and bind them together and overcome the jealousies of sections still existing.

7. We will get macadamized roads, railroads, canals, harbors and bridges, etc. These will serve well in war to transport troops, munitions, ordnance, stores, etc., in our war with Mexico and other nations if any.

8. We can get these only by rejecting the proposed tariff (1846).

9. Our past shows we were prosperous always under protective tariffs.

10. The condition of the country five years before the tariff of 1842 was enacted (1837) was most deplorable.

Answer to the South:

1. Every article the South purchases has been cheapened by the protective tariff.

2. But if not, "Are they not willing to undergo inconvenience to establish a true independence of their country?"

"My district is agricultural—and raises more agricultural products than any other county in the United States, yet we want the manufacturers to succeed in that district and everywhere."

3. "We are now in war, and must have a tariff that will meet the needs of business—but revenue tariffs meet the needs of the treasury only and change as the treasury's needs changed, not as business and growth need."

These arguments seem odd and worn out to us, but they were novel then. Our country looked bigger to them then than the world looks to us now. There was no need in Strohm's mind to concern ourselves about foreign countries as we had no possible need of them. To establish a "true independence" by making ourselves prosperous and self sufficient was his great idea—perhaps it was the idea at the base of the protective system. His position that "true independence" consisted in being able to ignore the other nations of the world is novel even to us. His thought that a tariff should be used to "develop our strength and resources" so as to make us powerful in war and to compensate for the lack of standing armies, was very enticing. His "internal improvements" to enable us to mobilize, is a provident view and worthy of a great statesman.

From 1847 onward, Strohm presented many petitions for the abolition of slavery. These first came from Quakers in Lancaster County and elsewhere. He was active in trying to clean slavery out of the District of Columbia (Globe).

He took the view that our armies should withdraw from Mexico and that a commission should go there instead, to negotiate peace. But the army was to be kept close by on our border. He saw that it was a "Politicians' War."

He was on the committee on public expenditures, and I think chairman, and took his committee into a thorough investigation of the accounts of the Secretary of the Treasury and reported a discrepancy of \$1,400,000. This was a matter as big as the aeroplane discrepancies of our day.

He made a speech on this subject before the House, January 21, 1848, in Committee of the Whole. This was his second big effort (Vol. 18, p. 466).

His last recorded acts were petitions to abolish slavery and to admit no new states except on the provision that slavery be excluded in them. Many of the petitions on this subject were from Lancaster County.

Being followed by Stevens, his record seems quite diminutive, compared with the acts of that great statesman.

The Society's Honor Roll Men in National Service.

Theodore W. Scott, Lancaster, Pa., pharmacist in the U. S. Navy, was 15 years in the Medical Department. He entered the service in May, 1896, and was retired on account of physical disability in July, 1911. He served on many ships and fitted up U. S. Hospital Ship "Solace." Seven and one half years of his service was spent on the seas and he four times circled the globe. The day after war was declared upon Germany he volunteered for service, went to Brooklyn, where he had been employed previously for two years, and was given charge of the drugs sent all over the world. His health broke and he was ordered home on June 1. He died August 4, 1917.

Capt. Sanderson Detwiler, Columbia, Pa., enlisted in old Co. C of Columbia. Now in the 28th Division in France. Is at present Adjutant of the 103d Trains, Military Police, of 4th Regiment.

Harry B. Hostetter, Lancaster, Pa. Enlisted at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, May 16, 1917. Was called into the Naval Reserve force at Sewells Point, Cape May, June 4, 1917. Was transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, June 19, 1918, where he entered the "Officers Material School." On October 8, 1918, he was commissioned an Ensign, and was stationed on the battleship "Indiana." Was released from service Feb. 7, 1919.

First Lieutenant E. J. Stein, Lancaster, Pa., enlisted in the Medical Corps and sailed for Europe last November 13. On January 6 he was assigned to the Army of Occupation, and is at present on duty in the evacuation hospital of the 3rd Army at Coblenz.

Private Guy Bard, Denver, Pa., went overseas last September. After being twice in hospital over there, he was transferred to the army postal service the middle of last December, being thus employed at present at Nies Chateau in the western part of France.

Private Harry F. Stauffer, Honeybrook, Pa., a native of Farmersville, associated with the Honeybrook Graphic Publishing Co. Was examined by Local Board No. 3 at Christiana, Pa., Feb. 25, 1918. Was sent to Camp Meade where he remained until mustered out December 12, 1918.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

The Lancaster County Historical Society had a largely attended and interesting meeting on Friday evening, March 5, 1919, in their rooms, in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building, on Duke Street. Judge Charles I. Landis presided, and Harry Stehman, Jr., was Secretary pro tem. Oscar D. Brandenburg, of Madison, Wisconsin, and Mrs. C. M. Steinmetz, of Reading, were proposed for membership.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter announced the sum of \$450.25 in the treasury. He also, as chairman of the committee on securing a national service flag for the society, presented the banner, with six stars, denoting that many members in the army or navy. One is gold, in honor of the late Theodore W. Scott, pharmacist of the U. S. Navy. The other members are: Captain Sanderson Detwiler, First Lieutenant E. J. Stein, Ensign Harry B. Hostetter, Private Harry F. Stauffer and Private Guy Bard.

Among the donations reported by Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., was that of three numbers of the Lancaster Tobacco Journal, of the year 1891, the only tobacco journal ever published in this city. The donor was Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer, who was its editor.

Miss Lottie M. Bausman announced that she had classified and divided into sections 175 important historical letters and other manuscripts owned by the society.

Custodian H. H. Shenk, of the Public Records of the State Library, read the paper of the evening, "Letters of the Honorable John Strohm." These were compiled by Prof. Shenk from letters written by Congressman Strohm and to him, both while he was in the Pennsylvania State Legislature and while Congressman. He was known as "Honest John Strohm." Some of the letters were written to the late Jacob H. Landis, of Millersville, and were made available to the author of the paper by his son, Hon. John H. Landis.

Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., reported that the following exchanges and donations were also received by the Society during the past month:

International Conciliation pamphlets.

St. John's Messenger, January and February.

Washington Historical Quarterly, January.

Catholic Historical Society Quarterly, December.

Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, December, 1918.

Linden Hall Echo, February.

Chester County Historical Society pamphlets.

Annual Report of Insurance Commissioner, 1918.

Annual Report of Soldiers' Orphan Homes, 1918.

Annual Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1917.

Annual Report of Commissioner on Banking, 1917.

A copy of February 20 issue of The American Printer (New York), and of the Ben Franklin Monthly (Lancaster), March 1st, containing historic local matter, by D. B. Landis.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOCATION OF PEQUEHAN
MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING

VOL. XXIII. NO. 4.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1919

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The Location of Pequehan

In locating the Indian village sites of Lancaster County we find Pequehan has been one of the knotty problems on which historians have had widely different opinions and controversies, without reaching a definite conclusion. Some authorities claim the location is at the mouth of the Pequea Creek, others at the head of the Pequea Creek, others at Paradise and still others at Washington Borough or at Shawnee Town, Columbia, and all claim to have reliable historical data to uphold their views.

This Indian town variously known as Pequea, Pequa, Piqua Town and Pequehan was inhabited by a band of the Piqua¹ tribe of the Shawnee Indians, between 1698 and 1727.

In order to unravel this matter we will follow the history and habits of these Shawnee Indians in a brief manner.

According to the sacred tribal chronicle of the Delaware Indians, called the *Walam Olum*,² the pictographic record of that tribe, we find that the Delawares, the Nanticokes and the Shawneese (each of which were also known by a confusion of other names), were originally known as one people, known as the Algonquin family.

When these tribes separated, the Shawneese were a powerful nation which went southward, but after many years of conflict with neighboring tribes we find them scattered from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi.

The early Dutch and Swedish navigators³ found some of them living on the east bank of the Delaware as early as 1614.

In 1673 Father Marquette states that the shores of what we now know as the Ohio River was then inhabited by the Shawnee Indians in such numbers that they reckon twenty-three villages in one district and fifteen villages in another district, quite near each other, that they are by no means warlike, and they are the people that the Iroquois go far to seek, in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them. He also states that at that time they had glass beads, which proves that before 1673 they were already in communication with Europeans.

Col. Johnson states that the Shawneese have four clans or totems, one of which is the Piqua clan,—Piqua meaning a man formed of ashes. Major Denny⁴ in his vocabulary of the Shawneese and Delawares also states that Pequea was their word for ashes.

In 1684 we find Fort St. Louis, a French fort, on the left bank of the

¹ Hannas's Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 148.

² Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 119, 120, 126, 143.

³ Hand Book of North American Indians, Vol. 2, pages 531 and 598.

⁴ Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. 7, page 481.

Illinois River, near which there is a Shawnee village of 200 warriors (perhaps 600 or 800 souls).

At a meeting of the Maryland Council⁵ held at St. Mary's, Anne ^{Arundel} Co., Md., August 16, 1692, which was presided over by Gov. Copley, some letters were read which had been written to the Governor by Nicholas Greenberry and others.⁶ The letters gave accounts of the coming of a number of strange Indians into Maryland, consisting of seventy-two men and 100 women and children which had located at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

After the letters were read a Frenchman, who had accompanied the above Indians, and who had been "arrested as a spy or party with designs of mischief," was brought before the council and examined through an interpreter. In the statements he made he declared that he had formerly been an inhabitant of Canada, but left eight years ago (1684). His reason for leaving Canada was that he had gone away, without leave of the Governor, to some Indians who had owed him some beaver skins, and when he returned he was imprisoned and placed in irons for several months. When released he made his escape to the woods, and was with these Indians since, chiefly at a fort called St. Louis. When the Indians left there he followed them into Maryland.

After the hearing the Frenchman was imprisoned, but was released October 29, following.

On October 15, 1693, Charles James wrote to Governor Copley from Cecil County, Md., that the king of the Indians together with the Frenchman had been received by Col. Casparus Hermon and the Indians were now residing on his manor (Bohemia Manor on the south bank of the lower Elk River), that they have erected wigwams there, and the Frenchman, he was informed, had an Indian woman for his wife.

At another meeting of the Maryland Council, April 8, 1693, a deposition was read, made by Henry Thompson on March 4, in which he declared that the Frenchman who lives on Col. Hermon's Manor is marked with the letters M. C. upon his breast. He is married to two Indian squaws, and has one daughter aged sixteen years. After more depositions were read, it was found that the Frenchman's name was Martin Chartier.

On February 15, 1693, Col. Casparus Hermon wrote to Governor Copley that Martin Chartier was a man of excellent parts and that he spoke several languages, also that he had been apprenticed to a carpenter while a young man.

According to a French account⁶ Chartier may have been one of several Frenchmen who plotted to kill La Salle at Fort Frontenac during 1680, although it was not positively known.

Although I have digressed somewhat from my subject, this same Martin Chartier was no other than the French Indian trader who lived here with the Shawnee Indians.

As many of our Pennsylvania records of this period have long since disappeared we can find no statement, then recorded, of when this band of

⁵ Maryland Council Proceedings, 3, pages 341, 350, 458, 469.

⁶ Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 132, 133.

Shawneese came to Lancaster County, and for that reason historians differ as to the date of their coming. However, from a number of references found in Pennsylvania Colonial Records and Archives made at a later date we conclude that they arrived either during 1697 or 1698.

In a message sent May 21, 1728, by Governor Gordon to the chief of another band of these Shawneese then living "above the forks of the Delaware," he informs them that the Shawnees were not in Pennsylvania at the time of William Penn's first treaty in 1683, that they came long afterward and they desired permission of the Conestoga Indians and of William Penn to settle in this county, that they promised to live in peace and friendship with us. And the Conestoga Indians became security for their good behavior.

In a report by a committee⁷ upon claims of the Delawares and Shawneese (given in *The Votes of Assembly*, Vol. 4, page 517, 1755) the committee state that "after making their best inquiry they have come to the conclusion that the Shawnee came to Conestoga with about 60 families about 1798."

I have given the above items concerning the movements and character of this clan or band of Shawnee Indians to show that they were roving or nomadic and did not live at any one place very long, and as they moved from one place to another the location of the site of Pequea or Shawnee town was changed.

From the testimony of a Susquehanock Indian before the Maryland Council, April 11, 1693, concerning the Shawneese which had settled on Col. Hermon's land, he stated that there were two bands of them, one band went northward, and the other desired to settle in peace with them (the Susquehanocks).

The band, which went north, remained for a time along the Delaware, as stated above by Governor Gordon, and were located at various places in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where we also find Pequa towns on our early maps. And as these two bands were driven westward by the encroachment of Europeans and settled at various places we find Pequas and Shawnee towns along their route through Pennsylvania and into Ohio.

But let us now confine ourselves to the location or locations of the Shawnee town sites in Lancaster County. We have already stated that this band of Shawnee Indians came here with Martin Chartier about 1797.

In a report made before the Maryland Council and Assembly June 1, 1697, John Hans Steelman, an Indian trader who was then trading with the Indians, while giving a census of the Indians located here, states: "The Susquehanocks and Sennecas, about forty lusty young men, besides women and children live at Conestoga, and the Shawnees about thirty men, besides women and children, live within four miles of Conestoga, farther down." He does not call the Shawneese Pequas nor their town Pequehan, yet these are no other than those designated by those names a little later on. Neither was the Pequea Creek known by that name at that time, as we find by maps prior to that period the name of this stream was Ocquandery.⁸

We know that at the above date (1697) the Susquehannas and Senecas,

⁷ Watson's Annals, Vol. 2, page 194.

⁸ Herman's Map, Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 14, No. 3, page 94.

or Conestogas as they were called a little later, were located in a fort or stockaded town (which Steelman calls Conestoga), on what is now The H. G. Witmer farm about a mile south of Washington Borough.

And "about four miles farther down" reaches an Indian town site, which is on what is now the Dr. Hiestand farm, on the north side of the Conestoga about one half mile north of Safe Harbor, where we have ample evidence of an Indian village site, for a considerable period, by the abundance of Indian implements and pottery and European or Indian trader articles such as glass beads, brass kettles, iron tomahawks, knives, clay pipes, jews harps, buttons, thimbles, rings, scissors, guns, bullets, brass bells, etc., which are found there.

Although the town site is on the Dr. Hiestand tract an occasional Indian grave is found on the north side of the Conestoga at several places between Dr. Hiestand's farm and the Rock Hill bridge.

During September, 1705, James Logan,⁹ who was Penn's secretary, held a peace treaty with the Indians here and his report states that he gave the Shawneese straw coats and Indian jewels (glass beads) to the value of nearly twenty pounds (£20). Logan was very influential with the Shawneese at this period and for many years afterward and their chief Sheckallany¹⁰ named one of his sons James Logan in honor of the Provincial Secretary.

This same tract of land¹¹ was first granted to James Logan, but he refused to accept the grant.

The minutes of Council of 1706¹² state that "Wm. Penn when last in this country in 1770 visited the Chiefs of the Shawneese, the Conestogas and the Gawnese on the Susquehanna, also his son after him, in order to friendship," an event which alone should hallow this as a historic spot.

The first account in which we find the name Pequehan is when Governor Evans gave an account of his trip here to the Pennsylvania Council, July, 1707. From which the following is taken:

"Gov. Evans and his retinue of officers set out from Newcastle [Friday], June 27, 1707. Next morning [Saturday, June 28] arrived at Octararo, and the evening of the same day arrived at Pequehan, when they were received by Martin Chartier and Oppessa, Chief of the Shawnees. Monday, June 30, they went to Decanoga, which he states was on the river Susquehanna about nine miles distant from Pequehan."

Decanoga must have been an appointed place of meeting the Governor for the Indians of many miles around, as Governor Evans states they held a meeting with the Shawnees, Senecas, Conoys, and with Nanticokes from seven towns.

According to the distance Governor Evans gives, Decanoga must have been at the present site of Columbia, as we know there was also a Shawnee town¹³ there at that period, which was about nine miles from the site of Pequehan on the Dr. Hiestand farm.¹³

⁹ Col. Records, Vol. 2, page 244.

¹⁰ Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 197.

¹¹ Third Pennsylvania Arch., Vol. 4, map No. 11.

¹² Watson Annals, Vol. 2, page 178.

¹³ Ellis & Evans, Lanc. Co., page 539, also Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 17, No. 8.

Day¹⁴ states that Decanoga was the Indian village at Locust Grove near Bainbridge, which I can clearly prove is an error, as that was the Conoy Indian village of Conejaghara, but which will be a subject for a future discussion.

Governor Evans continues that they returned to Pequehan that night—this appears to have been the Governor's principal stopping place while here, as it will be seen above. He also spent Sunday, June 29, there.

Tuesday, July 1, they visited Conestoga (at the present H. G. Witmer farm), and next morning, Wednesday, July 2, Paxtang, another Shawnee town (near what is now Harrisburg), after which they returned to Philadelphia by way of Tulpehocken.

This account appears in full in Colonial Records, Vol. 2, pages 386-390, the same citation which Rupp gives in "Lancaster County History," page 46, but in his copy of it he states: "Pequehan at the mouth of the Pequea Creek." This interpolation is not shown in the Colonial Record, nor anywhere else that I have found, except by later historians who have copied from Rupp.

We know that the Shawnees lived at Pequehan from about 1697 until about 1718, when they moved to the tract at Washington Borough granted to Martin Chartier in 1717, and where he died in 1718,¹⁵ when his son Peter came in possession of it. The latter and a remnant of the Shawnees left it about 1728 upon their migrating westward.

This shows that they were located at Pequehan about twenty years, and in that period there were many deaths, and their graves give us the evidence of their village site today. But there is no such evidence whatever at the mouth of the Pequea Creek, nor is there any evidence of a village site of that period south of the mouth of the Conestoga.

As additional evidence that Pequehan was located on the Dr. Hiestand farm we submit the following, also an item from the Colonial Records of 1707:

"Martin Chartier, who was returning from his trading station near Conestoga" (Rupp, page 53) and another item which Rupp gives only a portion of—"Martin Chartier, a Frenchman,¹⁶ who lived long among the Shawnees Indians and upon Conestoga."

Watson¹⁷ refers to an original deed dated April 8, 1725, from Wiggonee-heenah in behalf of all the Delaware Indians concerned which grants to Edmond Cartlege a piece of ground, formerly Wiggonee-heenah's plantation, lying in a turn of the Conestoga Creek called Indian Point (no acres or bounds are mentioned). The Indian signatures and seals are curious. The seal is of red wax impressed with a running fox, and the Indian signature in lieu of his signature is a tolerably good drawing of a similar animal. In this connection it must be remembered that as the Delawares and the Shawnees were both of the Algonquin family they frequently lived together and intermarried and had interests in common.

¹⁴ Day's Hist. Coll. Pennsylvania, pages 391 and 410.

¹⁵ Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, page 171.

¹⁶ Wilderness Trail, Vol. 1, pages 170 and 172.

¹⁷ Watson Annals, Vol. 2, page 172.

John Cartlege was the earliest justice here, which was then part of Chester County. He was also an interpreter and became the Indian agent. John Cartlege and his brother Edmond owned 500 acres and 400 acres of land respectively, which included the Dr. Hiestand farm (now known as the Binkley farm) and extended along the north side of the Conestoga to the Rock Hill Bridge. This tract is a few hundred yards southeast of the "Brenneman farm" (now also owned by Dr. Hiestand), where the Conestoga Indians located their Conestoga Indian town about 1716 (after leaving the H. G. Witmer farm), and where the massacre occurred December 14, 1763.

As no bounds are given in the Wiggoneheenhah deed it is impossible to locate "Indian Point" definitely, yet it is almost certain that it was the point of land extending from the Rock Hill Bridge to the mouth of the Little Conestoga, where Edmond Cartlege built a mill¹⁸ at this early period.

I believe it will be of interest to relate here what appears, if nothing more, at least an odd coincidence. During the fall of 1912, while Benjamin Lefever and his son were plowing a field on the above tract, they uncovered an Indian grave, which contained parts of a skeleton, a brass kettle, an iron tomahawk, some glass beads, red paint, and a clay tobacco pipe of Indian make *with a tolerably well inscribed figure of a fox extending around the bowl of the pipe*. These articles are in the collection of the writer.

Now that we have fully established the location of Pequehan, let us briefly review other Shawnee town locations. We have already referred to Paxtang, to Shawnee Town, Columbia, and to Martin Chartier's at Washington Borough, all of which were Shawnee locations, but as there never has been any real grounds for believing that any of them were known as Pequea or Pequehan we dismiss them from this discussion.

From the minutes of a meeting¹⁹ of the Commissioners of Property at Philadelphia, January 2, 1718, we find an order was given to grant 500 acres of land to Col. John F. French, "in or near the Shawannah Old Fields at the head of the Pequea Creek." I have been unable to locate such a town site near the head of the Pequea Creek which were Indian habitations of this period, and as very little was known of "Shawannah Old Fields," and as it never was known as Pequea, we dismiss that also.

In conclusion, we will give extracts from a publication for the Paradise Lyceum²⁰ dated 1842, containing an address and traditionary matter on the Paquaws, by Redmond Conyngham, the following:

"When the first settlers of the Great Flats of Pequea arrived (about 1710) they were received by Bever Chief of the Pequea who gave them the use of his cabin at the base of the hill, then notified King Tawana of their arrival and next day they were introduced to King Tawana who lived on the Great Flats of Pequa, Mary Ferree was one of the first settlers there, who was granted the tract of land on which Paradise is now located."

He also gives a speech made by Tawana, which refers to Penn's Treaty

¹⁸ See Penna. Arch., Second Series, Vol. 19, page 644, also Rupp, Lanc. Co., pages 115-116.

¹⁹ See Penna. Arch., Second Series, Vol. 19, page 625.

²⁰ For the use of this rare pamphlet I am under obligations to Redmond Conyngham, Esq., Lancaster, Pa.

at Shackamaxon. "When Tawana was asked by the Council whether he is a Delaware, he replied, 'The Delawares were a tribe of the same great nation, you people call us Delawares—we are Paquaws.'"

"The noble Indian King's bones repose with those of his fathers' in the Indian Field at Paradise. A pile of stones marked his grave. All Saints Church is erected on the Indian Burial Ground."

How much of this is fact and how much is fiction I do not know. Tawana was one of the Indian Chiefs at a treaty in Philadelphia in 1701, but he was a Conestoga Indian, not a Shawnee Indian.

The Mary Ferree tract was not so very far from the "head of the Pequea," but as it was not the location of the tract granted to Colonel French it is not "Shawanna Old Fields." Doubtless there are Indian remains found in the vicinity of Paradise as there are in many other places in Lancaster County, but so far as I could ascertain, no trader articles are found there, to indicate that there was a recent Indian town site there.

What is now Paradise was a portion of what had been Chester County. Pequea Creek must have received its name from the Piquea Indians and it would be interesting to know why it received that name, although fifteen miles distant from the western part of the county where Pequehan was located. But nevertheless the Indian village site of Pequea, or as Governor Evans called it, Pequehan, was located on what is now the Dr. Heistand farm, on the north side of the Conestoga, about one half mile north of Safe Harbor.

DAVID H. LANDIS.

DESCRIPTION OF MAP.

1. Pequehan, a Shawnee Indian village from 1698 until about 1716.
2. Where Martin Chartier and a band of Shawnees lived after leaving Pequehan and where Martin Chartier died in 1718. This tract of 300 acres was then granted to his son, Peter Chartier, who emigrated westward with the Shawnees about 1728.
3. Tract granted to Edmond Cartlege, an Indian trader and brother of John Cartlege.
4. Tract granted to John Cartlege, who lived where George Baker now lives (formerly Daniel Shenk). After John Cartlege it was occupied by Andrew Cornish and later by the Wrights. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 152-164.)
5. Location of Edmond Cartlege's mill of 1712. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. XIX, pp. 569 and 644.) This is doubtless "Indian Point."
6. The Rock Hill bridge.
7. Earliest road from Philadelphia to the Indian towns "on the Susquehanna."
8. A stockaded Indian village or fort inhabited during a long period by the Susquehannock Indians later known as Conestogas, until about 1716 (probably a few years earlier), when they "moved from thence further down to Conestoga." (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 102-105.)

21 Futey & Cope, Chester Co., page 200.

9. The Conestoga Indian town where the last remnant of the tribe lived, from about 1716 until they were massacred by the "Paxton Boys," December, 1763. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XVIII, No. 7.)

10. "Susquehannock Fort," a stockaded Indian village where the Susquehannocks were finally conquered by the Senecas in 1675. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIV, No. 3.) A note on Herman's map of 1670 also clearly tells us that Susquehannock fort was located ten or twelve miles down stream from the Conewago Falls, which is additional proof of the correct location of Susquehannock fort. ("Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, p. 54. See also, Eshleman's "Annals of the Susquehannocks," pp. 79-91.)

11. Blue Rock, a large blue limestone rock along the shore of the river. At this location the town of Blue Rock was boomed in 1814, but on account of the death of the promoter the project was abandoned. (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," p. 961.) This tract was recently purchased by Frank C. Wittmer (formerly the farm of A. G. Herr).

12. Blue Rock Ferry, employed as a ferry by Indian traders before 1712; probably the earliest ferry across the Susquehanna River. In 1730 Col. Thomas Cresap was given a title for this ferry, "the Isle of Promise," and the tract where he located his fort, by the Maryland Government. May, 1734, a petition was granted for a road extending from near John Minshalls on the Chester County line to Blue Rock. May, 1741, a petition was presented by John Ross, keeper of Blue Rock Ferry, and others for a road from the town of Lancaster to Blue Rock Ferry. This road (The Blue Rock Road) was not completed, however, until 1749. April 11, 1793, a charter was granted for a bridge across the Susquehanna from Blue Rock to Pleasant Garden, York County.

13. Fort built by Col. Thomas Cresap in 1729 (now the cellar of the residence of Bert Leiphart), where Col. Cresap attempted to defend Maryland's northern boundary which resulted in "The Cresap War." (Evans & Ellis, "History of Lancaster County," pp. 15-16, also LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIII, No. 9. Also Rupp's "History of York County," Chapter 2.)

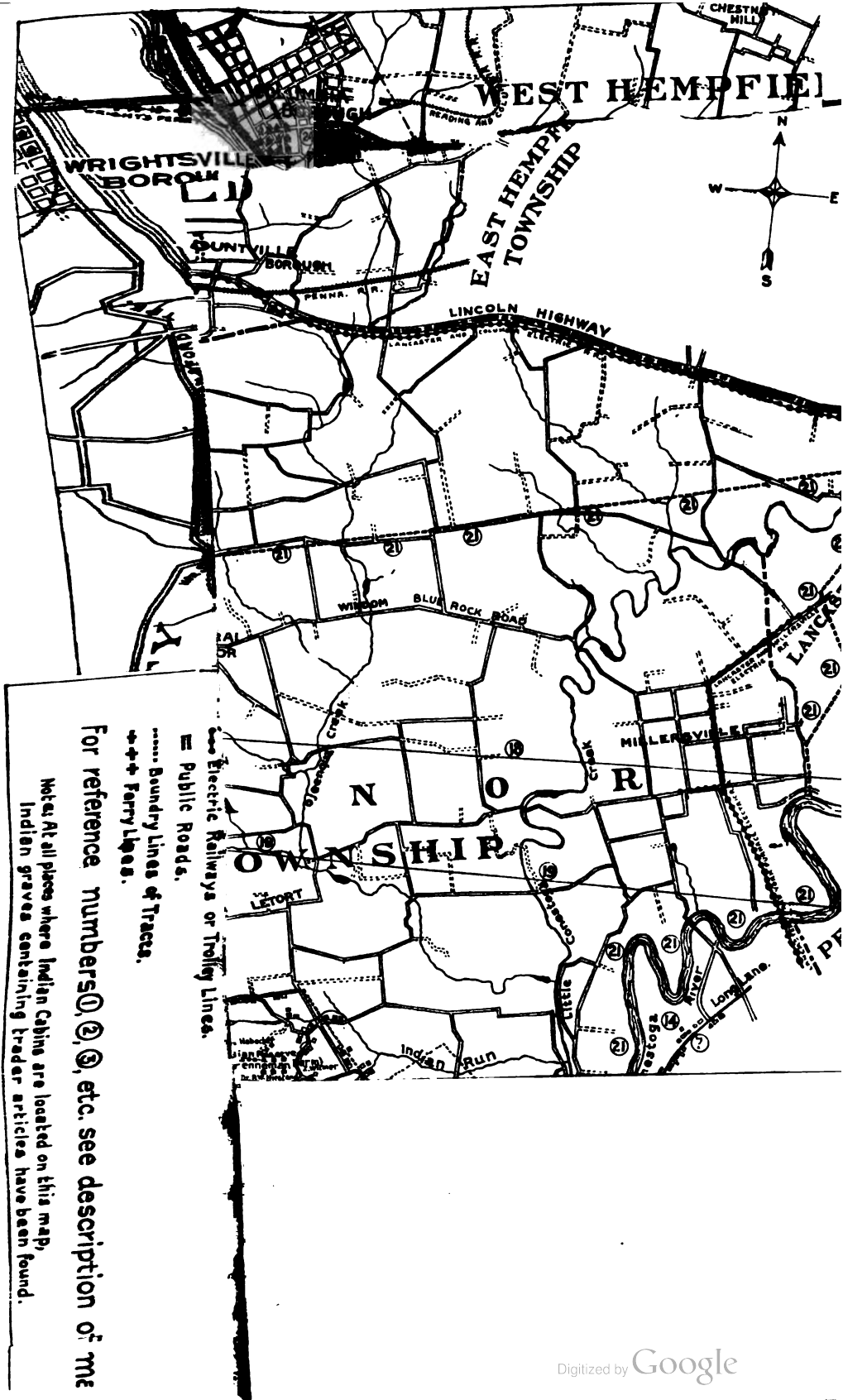
14. "Postlethwaite's," the first county seat of Lancaster County, 1729 and 1730. (LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4; Vol. XIX, No. 8; Vol. X, No. 11.)

15. Rocks with Indian picture writing—"Big Indian" and "Little Indian" rocks, about one-half to one-quarter of a mile down the Susquehanna River from the mouth of the Conestoga River

16. Rocks with Indian picture writing on Neff's Island near Buzzard Rock. (See "Photographs of Inscriptions made by our Aborigines," by D. H. Landis, 1907.)

17. Rock with Indian picture writing about three-fourths of a mile down the river from Creswell Station.

18. "The 40th parallel," or the line on all maps which separates the 40th and 41st parallel, which according to Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 was the northern boundary of Maryland. This line was then designated by Susque-



hannock Fort. (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XIX, No. 3.)

19. The earliest survey made in what is now Lancaster County. During July, 1700, in pursuance of an order given by Penn's Surveyor General, Thomas Holmes, "Benj. Chambers of Philadelphia and a force of men surveyed and marked out this direct line from Philadelphia to near this Indian Fort." It was really a road, as the Indians were told it was intended for the route over which the "Indian Walk"—two days' journey to the Susquehanna—was to be made, which measured the territory Penn had made a treaty for. It covers about the same route as the "Long Lane" and the old road from Philadelphia to Conestoga. The minutes of Council state that during this same year "Wm. Penn visited the chiefs of the Conestogas, the Shawnees and Ganawees (Conoys) on the Susquehanna, in order to friendship." (Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," Vol. II, pp. 175, 176, 178.)

During this period Wm. Penn still adhered to his fond hope of building his "chief city" on the Susquehanna, ~~and~~ which he was trying to boom at this time. The tract he had intended for it was the river frontage between what is now Creswell Station and Bainbridge, contained 100,000 acres, extending eastward about as far as where Lancaster City is now located. It was to be connected with Philadelphia not only by the route already surveyed and marked out, "but also by a canal by way of the Conestoga and French Creeks and the Schuylkill River." (See LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. II, No. 1, also Vol. II, No. 8.)

On the York County side of the river, opposite this tract, during June, 1722, Springettsbury Manor was surveyed. (Carter & Glossbrenner's "History of York County," Chapter II.)

20. Tract of 200 acres granted to James Patterson, the Indian trader, where he died, 1735, at what is now the farm house of Chas. B. Lehman. (Evans & Ellis, "Lancaster County History," p. 16.)

21. Boundary of Penn's Manor of Conestoga, which he reserved after being unsuccessful in his effort to found a city on the Susquehanna. It was surveyed and taken up by settlers after Penn's death in 1717, and later. (Third *Penna. Archives*, Vol. IV, Map 11.)

22. An old Wright homestead of Indian tradition. Near a spring on the north side of the road, a short distance from this property was the Isaac Kuhn home where Rupp states: "He was in the last Indian cabin." (Rupp, "History of Lancaster County," p. 356.)

23. Where John Penn visited, April 15, 1788, and decided to reserve 200 acres for the location of a "county seat." (LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 16.)

24. The Indian village of "Decanoga," where Governor Evans held a peace treaty with the Indians, June 30, 1707. In 1725 it was known as "Shawneetown." (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," pp. 542-543, also LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XVII, No. 8.)

Minutes of the April Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., Friday, April 4, 1919.

The regular meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in their rooms in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building, on North Duke street, with Judge Charles I. Landis presiding. A unique donation, among the list announced by the librarian, was the Washington's Birthday Anniversary Celebration programme of the Y. M. C. A., with the Third U. S. Army of Occupation at Coblenz, Germany, on February 22, last, donated by Y. M. C. A. War Worker Edgar H. Levan, of Lancaster, now located at Coblenz, directing the music of the "Y" for the American soldiers.

Librarian Stehman announced the following other exchanges and donations received during the past month for the Historical Society library:

Publication of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Metric Manual for Soldiers.

March Linden Hall Echo.

The Pennsylvania Magazine for October and December.

March Wisconsin Magazine of History.

New York State Library Bulletin, Nos. 10 and 11.

New York Historical Society Collections, 1917 and 1918.

Report of the State Commissioner on Banking for 1918.

Report of the State Board of Public Charities, 1917.

Programme of Twentieth Annual Dinner of Pennsylvania Society of New York City.

Some Reminiscences of Noted Men and Times from the Lebanon County Historical Society.

Lancaster County Historical Society pamphlets from M. T. Garvin.

Vice President H. Frank Eshleman read a short account of the record of John Strohm, of Lancaster, in Congress, as a supplement to the paper on Congressman Strohm, read at the March meeting by Custodian H. H. Shenk, of the Public Records of the State Library at Harrisburg.

The main paper of the evening was the work of D. H. Landis, of Windom, and was read by Mrs. Landis. The subject was "The Location of the Indian Settlement at Pequehan." The paper was an especially interesting and valuable contribution to local lore, as Mr. Landis is recognized as an authority on the aborigines of this section of Pennsylvania.

Oscar D. Brandenburg, of Madison, Wis., and Mrs. C. M. Steinmetz, of Reading, were elected to membership; and Paul R. Garrison, of Columbia, and Mrs. Laura V. Conner, of Waynesboro, Va., were nominated.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter announced a balance of \$304.30 in the treasury.

He also stated in writing that an original letter by Major John Andre was in safe keeping for the Historical Society in a deposit box of the Conestoga National Bank.

LANCASTER, PA., March 8, 1919.

Hon. Charles I. Landis,
President Lancaster County Historical Society,
Lancaster, Pa.

Dear Judge Landis:

In further reference to the letter about which we spoke last evening, I beg to state that on June 18th, 1914, that letter was handed to me for safe keeping and since then has been placed in a safe deposit box in the Conestoga National Bank.

Upon having received the same, I gave Mr. Steinman a receipt, a copy of which I submit herewith, as follows:

"June 18, 1914, received from Mr. George Steinman, President Lancaster County Historical Society, for safe keeping a letter of John Andre, dated April 10th, 1776, written to Eberart Michael; also a copy of the reply by Mr. Eberart Michael, dated April 26th, 1776.

Evidently this original receipt is not filed in the archives of our society, *where it should be*, and I, therefore, send you this letter so that the society may have some record of the whereabouts of the letter. The ownership of the letter is plainly indicated on the outside of the wrapper, in which it is enclosed.

In addition to the above, I also beg to acknowledge herein, the custody of the "Hudson-Fulton Medal," in its original leather and plush case. I also gave Mr. Steinman as President of the society, a receipt for this medal, but unfortunately do not have a copy of said receipt.

Awaiting your acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter, and also the pleasure of the society regarding the matter, I remain.

Yours truly,

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Treasurer Lancaster County Historical Society.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

A LANCASTER GIRL IN HISTORY,

BY HON. JOHN H. LANDIS.

MINUTES OF THE MAY MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 5.

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LANCASTER, PA.

The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania, - - - 99

By HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

Minutes of the June Meeting, - - - - - 108

The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania.

Some time ago I came across an article published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of February 20, 1772, signed "Clericus." It indicated that the first move looking towards the building of a turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster had originated among the people of Lancaster County. Further investigation proved that the writer, "Clericus," was no other than the Rev. Thomas Barton, then Rector of St. James Episcopal Church, of Lancaster Borough. A letter, written by him to Thomas Penn, Jr., which appears among the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, fully identifies him as the author. I have, therefore, made copies of both the "Observations" and the letter, as being the earliest reference to this subject.

The article reads as follows:

February 20, 1772.

Number 2252.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC ROADS OCCASIONED BY A PETITION
TO ASSEMBLY FOR A TURNPIKE-ROAD FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WRIGHTS-
FERRY ON SUSQUEHANNA, HUMBL Y ADDRESS ED TO THE TRUE
FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Having long observed, with real concern, that our Inattention to the Improvement of Public Roads and other Inland Communications, between the Western Parts of this Province and the Capitol, hath been the means of diverting the natural products of these parts to another Market, we cannot but be pleased to find, that this Matter is at last become a Subject of some consideration. A Petition to the Honorable House of Assembly has been promoted in the County of Lancaster, setting forth such Grievances as have been the consequences of bad roads, and praying for some redress in the premises. Every person seems to have a just sense of the importance of this Petition, and to be desirous of partaking of the benefits it craves. But very few have any idea how, or by what means, those benefits are to be obtained. Turnpike Roads are novel things in this Country. There are many among us, who do not even understand the Terms. And such as have thought a little of the Matter seem to think that the Chinese Wall or the Pyramids of Egypt were not more arduous and extravagant Undertakings than that of a Turnpike from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry would be. To remove such prejudices and to convince such people, that this Undertaking would neither be so difficult or expensive as they conceive, we beg leave to lay before them some Extracts from a very judicious writer (the Rev. Mr. Horner, one of the Commissioners of Turnpike Roads in England), who has made a full "Enquiry into

the means and expence of improving and preserving Public Roads," together with such observations, as the remarks of a few sensible neighbors, and my own little Experience together, have enabled me to collect concerning the Road now proposed. And that this may be done in such a manner as may be most generally and fully understood, we will consider the subject under the following Heads:

1. The great Benefits of public improved Roads.

2. The methods of making such Roads, what materials are necessary and how they are to be applied.

3. An Estimate of the Expense of a Turnpike from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry and some general Reflections upon the whole.

First, then, as to the great Benefits of public improved Roads, the writer before me gives a circumstantial as well as pleasing account. "The Preservation and Improvement of Public Roads," says he, "have always been objects of the internal Police of almost all civilized States: And perhaps it would be no Exaggeration to assert, that Schemes of this kind have more or less been attended to, in Proportion to the degree of public Spirit, which has prevailed in every Age and Country. Besides the Benefits which result from public improved Roads, of Comfort to ourselves, and of convenient passage to our Beasts and Carriages, they have a natural Tendency to keep up social Inter-course, to Expedite Business, and to enlarge the Commerce of mankind. By them Access is gained, not only to the necessities and conveniences, but to the Elegancies and Refinements of Life; particular Places become possessed of the Products and Riches of remote Places. It is probable that there is no circumstance, which will contribute to characterize the present age to Posterity so much as the Improvements that have been made in Public Roads. We need not carry our Enquiries into the State of England more than Half a Century backward, before we shall be able to trace the dull Marches of our Ancestors through Mire and Clay, not only in their visits to each other through the Cross Roads of the Country, but in those of the most Public Resort and even in their Approaches to the very capital. Journies in Carriages from the remote parts of England to London were considered as great Undertakings, and performed by short Stages in each day. Terror and Fatigue were the constant concomitants of these slow and dangerous Progressions, and the Fears and Anxieties of Friends, who were left behind in the country, were never calmed, till they had certain Intelligence that the Travellers were safe arrived at their Journey's End.

"The Trade of the Kingdom languished under these Impediments. Few People cared to encounter the Difficulties which attended the Conveyance of Goods from the Places where they were manufactured, to the Markets where they were to be disposed of. The same Cause which was injurious to Trade, laid waste also a considerable part of the Lands. The natural Products of the Country were with Difficulty circulated to supply the necessities of those Counties and trading Towns, which wanted, and to dispose of the Superfluity of others, which abounded. Hence the Consumption of the Growth of Grain, as well as of the inexhaustible Stores of Fuel, which Nature has lavished upon Particular parts, was limited to the neighborhood of those places, which pro-

duced them, and made them, comparatively speaking, of little value to what they would have been had the Participation of them been more enlarged.

"To the Operation of the same cause must also be attributed in a great Measure the slow Progress which was formerly made in the Improvement of Agriculture. Discouraged by the uncertain Returns, which arose from confined Markets, the Farmer wanted Spirit and Ability to exert himself in the Cultivation of his Lands. On this Account, Undertakings in Husbandry were then generally small, calculated rather to be a Means of Subsistence to particular Families, than a Source of Wealth to the Public. But since the Improvement of Public Roads, Trade is no longer fettered by the Embarrassments which before unavoidably attended it. Dispatch, which is the very Life and Soul of Business, becomes daily more attainable by the free Circulation opening in every Channel, which is adapted to it. Merchandize and manufactures find a ready Conveyance to the Markets. The Natural Blessings of the Land are shared by the Inhabitants with a more equal hand. The Constitution itself acquires firmness by the Stability and Increase both of Trade and Wealth, which are the Nerves and Sinews of it.

"In Consequence of all this, the Demand for the Produce of the Lands is increased. The Lands themselves advance proportionately in their value. There never was a more astonishing Revolution accomplished in the internal System of any Country, than has been within the Compass of a few years in that of England. The Carriage of Grain, Merchandize, &c., is in general conducted with little more than half the number of Horses with which it formerly was. Journies of Business are performed with more than double Expedition. Improvements in Agriculture keep pace with those of Trade. Everything wears the Face of Dispatch; every Article of our Produce becomes more valuable. And the Hinge upon which all these movements turn, is the Improvement that has been made in our Public Roads."

Let us apply these Observations to our own Case, and we shall find that the same Advantages must result to us from the Improvement of our Roads and other Communications between the Back Country and the Metropolis. The Petition to the Assembly sets forth "that the Inhabitants of the Western Counties labour under the greatest Difficulties in transporting the Produce of the Country to the City of Philadelphia, the grand mart of the Province, owing to the extreme badness of the Roads, which are sometimes almost impassable and at all times dangerous and attended with great Delays and Losses. That a great part of this Produce is already lost to the City of Philadelphia, &c. That a Turnpike Road would soon restore the valuable and increasing trade of York and Cumberland Counties, secure the Trade of Lancaster County, and be an easy mode of transporting the Products, not only of these Counties, but of the newly settled Country, to the Metropolis of our own Province." These advantages alone are such as deserve the utmost Efforts of our Power to secure, and not only these, but many more might be obtained, from a proper Improvement of our Public Roads and other Communications. We will now examine

2. The Method of Making such Roads (as practiced in England), what materials are necessary, and how they are applied. "The first Object should be to reduce Roads into proper form. And for this purpose, it is always

desirable to bring them, as nearly as circumstances will admit, to straight Lines, in which Form they wear better, and are more commodious for Use. Risings and Hollows should be first reduced, as much as they can be, into level or inclined Planes. Steep Ascents are always, if possible, to be conquered, because the Locking of Carriage Wheels in the Descent, and the Difficulty of Draught in the Ascent, render them troublesome and expensive. Undertakings of this kind are generally arduous, but yet they may be accomplished in almost any instance by sinking the Paths at the Summits, and raising them at the Bases, by which Means their progressive Line is brought to an easy Inclination. This should never exceed an angle of 4 or 5 degrees with the Horizon, if the Expence of doing it be not too great.

The traverse Section of a Road (Except in Wash-ways where the Water is to be confined to the Track) should always be the Segment of a Circle, in order to give a lateral Descent; and this may be either the Portion of a greater or less Circle, as there is more or less of the progressive Inclination, and the Nature of the Soil may require it, or otherwise it may be the Portion of a larger Circle with Ditches on Each Side.

The Reasons which render these dispositions in the Form of Roads necessary, are founded chiefly in the effects of Water upon them; a stagnation of which is always prejudicial, and particularly so in loamy or clay lands, in which, if it cannot be discharged, the best compacted Materials, unless of extraordinary Thickness, must gradually sink under the Pressure of heavy weights upon them.

In Roads of any considerable Resort, it is usual to bring the whole Breadth into Form, where it does not exceed 40 feet, and to Form to the Breadth of 40 feet, where it does; which, according to the methods generally practiced, leaves a convenient passage on each side of the mended Path, supposed to be in the middle or centre of the Forming. The breadth of the mended Path must be regulated by the circumstances of the Commissioners, the Plenty of Materials, and the convenience of getting them. This is seldom extended beyond 14 feet, and oftener only 12 in Roads which are distant from the Metropolis. For five months, at least, of the 12, upon an Average, the Side Passages, of such as be in good form, will be sufficiently drained or frozen to bear Carriages, and at those Seasons the use of them, when worn smooth, is by far more eligible than the mended Path, the only purpose of which is to go against any hurtful Impressions at such times as the natural ground, rendered pliable by moisture, gives way to the force exerted on it.

There are two ways of adapting Materials to the Improvement of Roads; one by regular Pavements; the other by a more promiscuous assortment of Rock Stones, Pebbles, Flints, Gravel, Sand, or the like.

Regular Pavements are generally constructed with common Pebble. But was this kind of Road eligible, Pebbles are not to be procured in sufficient quantities and of proper size in many parts, without too great an expence. Besides this, there are many Objections to them, being neither calculated for the Ease of Man or Beast, nor for the Preservation of Carriages. Indeed it may hold for a general rule in making of Roads, that the finer the Materials are which are used for the Construction of them, the more convenient they are for Passage, if no other objections attend them; accordingly we find by

experience that those which are made of the best kinds of Gravel are preferable, for Ease, Safety and Expedition, to those which are of coarser though more solid Materials. Nay, the natural ground itself, when rendered sufficiently smooth, and hardened by Drought, is better adapted for Use in all respects, than any made Road whatsoever.

It seldom happens that the Surveyors have any great choice of Materials to use in Constructing their Roads. They are obliged to take such as the neighborhood affords, for distant Carriage is for the most part an unsupportable burden. In those which are made of Gravel only, the Chief Requisite is to lay it of sufficient thickness, and whatever the Materials are, the ground should be well formed to the sides of them, to prevent them giving away laterally, which will of course lessen their perpendicular depth, as well as weaken their Structure. Where Rock Stones are wholly used for this purpose, it is usual to place the stronger parts with a cursory kind of pitching on the Outside of the Beds where the weight of the Carriages is expected to operate most, and to leave the weaker in the center, supposed to be the Track for Horses, and to give the whole a covering with the shattery parts of the Rock, or the Stronger, broke into small pieces, without which they are apt to be rough, and inconvenient for traveling upon. But whenever both kinds are to be had, Durableness and Convenience are best consulted by making the Foundation of Stone and the Superstructure with Gravel. In clays or soils which retain moisture, it has a very good effect to lay a course of Sand or Gravel, where it can be procured, or, otherwise, of the soft parts of sandy stone, before the stratum of strong stones is placed, which prevents them working downwards as fast as they are otherwise apt to do, and yet enables them for a while to yield to the Pressure of heavy weights.

Many good roads are made with Sand only, in the same manner as Gravel, and they also have this convenience, that they are generally better in the Winter Season, when saddened with Moisture, than in the Summer, when their Texture being loosened with Drought, Carriages move heavily along them.

But whatever methods are made use of for the purpose of securing Roads from Decay, it generally turns out an irretrievable error to be too sparing in the Breadth of the mended path, and very bad economy not to allow a sufficient Thickness of Material in the first construction of it. For the latter, no general Rule can be laid down, because it must be regulated by the combined considerations of their strength, the Form of the Ground and the Nature of the Soil in which they are placed; but for the former, it ought never to be less than twelve feet in Public Roads.

Such are the Methods of improving Public Roads in England, such the Materials, and such the Manner of applying them. And it appears very probable that the same methods and the same kind of material may be adapted to our purpose.

In the next place, let us endeavor to make some estimate of the Expence of making our Turnpike. To do this, it will be necessary to take an exact view of every part of the Country through which it is to pass, and of the Kinds and Quantity of Materials which this Country affords. It is proposed that the Road be improved from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry, on Susque-

hanna, which, according to the present Track, is 76 miles, but on a straight line may not exceed 70. The Expence of improving such a Length of Road as this, to be sure, appears, at first sight, insupportable. But when we consider the Via Appia of the Romans, which Leipsius tells us was 350 miles long, 28 of which was carried through a dreadful swamp, and the whole road made of square Freestones, so well laid that, tho' 1800 years have elapsed since it was first made, it is, in many places, quite entire at this day,—when we consider the immense Canal, made at the Expence of a single subject of England, I mean the Duke of Bridgewater,—when we consider the long Canals, made in Ireland to open a communication between the Lakes in the north and the Bay of Newry,—we shall not surely distrust our ability to effect what is here proposed. I know it will be said that this is a new Country and not yet able to support such an Undertaking. We shall grant the Premises, but not the Conclusion. It is a new Country, to be sure, but not so new, nor, thank God, so poor, as not to be able to support such an Undertaking as is proposed. I have often heard the Expence of the Road computed at Random at £100,000. But we hope it will appear that less than half that sum will be sufficient to effect it. The Principles upon which the original Expence of making Roads in England (paved or gravelled 12 or 14 feet, as already described) are these: Two Tons of Materials are allowed to every Yard forward, which will be 3520 Tons to a mile. Each Ton, upon an average, costs 1 s. and 10 d., all Expence included, when delivered into the Road, making in the whole for Materials £322. 13. 4. a mile, and the Labour of farming, placing and banking, &c., is about 9 d. per yard, which will be £.66 more, amounting in the whole, for Materials and Labour, to £388. 13. 4., Sterling, for every mile of finished Road.

But when we are speaking of Roads in Pennsylvania, I know it will be thought by some, that these Prices should, at least, be doubled, to make up the Difference between the Expence of Labour here and in England. The difference is undoubtedly very great, for which Reason the Price of the Labour shall be trebled, and instead of 9 d. per Yard, we will calculate 2 s. 3 d. per Yard. But with regard to the price of Materials, there should be no allowance, in the present Case, because the natural advantages attending the Conestogoe Road are so much greater than those that have perhaps attended the same Extent of Road in any Part of England, that they will reduce the Sterling Prices to Currency. That is, we shall have as much Materials for £100 Currency here, as they can have for £100 Sterling in England. In many parts of England, the necessary Materials are not to be obtained without considerable Difficulty and Expence. Stones, Gravel, &c., are often brought 5 and 6 miles to the Road. Whereas, the Country, through which the Road proposed here is to pass, is so plentifully and conveniently stored with those Articles, that near one-half of it may be made almost without any hauling, and the other half will not require much, as the greater part of it passes through Lime Stone Quarries, or a gravelly Soil. So that we may take it for granted, that the Materials will not exceed £322. 13. 4. Currency a Mile. The Labour at 2 s. and 3 d. Yard (three Times the Price paid in England) will make £198 more, which, added to the Materials, will be £520.13.4. Currency for every Mile of finished Road. This sum multiplied by 70 (the supposed

Number of Miles from Philadelphia to Wrights-Ferry, on a straight Line) will make the whole Expence £36,446. 13. 4.

It will appear evident that this Calculation makes a sufficient allowance, when it is considered that it is founded upon a Supposition that the Road is to be stoned or gravelled the whole way, in the manner that has been already mentioned. But it will by no means be necessary to do this. The Road from Pequea to the Ship, and through the Radnor Hills, will require no Improvements of this kind. Nothing more will be necessary there than to form the Road to its proper Breadth, to open courses on each side for the Torrents, occasioned by heavy rains, to pass along, without touching the Road, and to cut away the Trees for some little distance, so that the Sun and Wind may have their full power in Drying. Stoning will be necessary only in wet, low and spongy ground, which perhaps may not amount to 30 miles in the whole distance, and should Stone, gravel, &c., prove scarce in such Places, Wood may very advantageously be substituted in their Room. It is well known that Wood, buried in moist ground and preserved from the Air, will last for Ages. (Witness the Timber dug out of the Bogs of Ireland, and other Countries, supposed to have lain there since the Deluge, which is yet hard and sound.) Where other Materials, therefore, fail, we propose that Logs of Wood of 12 to 14 feet long (the Breadth of the mended Path) be laid close together, and buried at least 8 inches below the Surface and covered with the best Soil that the Place will admit of. Such a Road will last beyond the present Generation, and we trust the next will be able to repair it. Indeed, if the Road be well constructed in the Beginning, the whole of it may be easily kept in Repair. This will be done by appointing Men of Capacity and Integrity as Commissioners, with proper Powers and Rewards, to enable and encourage them to do their duty. The next step should be the Establishment of Broad-Wheeled Carriages for such as constantly use the Road or that follow Wagoning as an Employment, with an Indulgence for narrow wheels to such persons only as live at some distance from the Road, who only come upon it occasionally, and to whose Purposes of Farming, &c., Broad-Wheeled Carriages might be inconvenient, provided that for such Indulgence they have their Carriages made with one of the Axle Trees a few inches longer than the other, so that the fore and hind wheels of each side shall roll a surface of considerable Breadth. Some other Regulations no doubt will be found necessary, but these will be the chief, and, if carefully attended to, the annual repairs of the Road will be so inconsiderable, as perhaps not to exceed £20 a Mile.

It will be expected, no doubt, that these Observations and Estimate should be accompanied with some mode or plan of raising a fund for the Purposes mentioned. This, however, is a matter which comes not properly within the Design such as loose Hints. The Wisdom and Prudence of the Legislature will readily point out ways and means to effect this. I would only observe that equitable Taxes are never to be accounted burthens, when they are to be immediately employed for attaining proportionate Benefits to the Public. The securing, facilitating and extending Commerce are, in the present Situation of human affairs, great Benefits to the Public.

Perhaps a due Regard to the several Circumstances mentioned here might conduce to bring about the End proposed. But, after what has been

said, if it should still be thought that the Country is too young to attempt what is called a Turnpike, it is to be hoped that it will not be thought too young to attempt something else to secure the great Benefits that have been enumerated. "While we are daily receiving accounts from all Parts of the World of the unwearied Assiduity with which foreign Princes and States are Promoting the commercial interests of their Dominions," and Countries which we cannot suppose that the vigilant and public spirit of Pennsylvania will now drop asleep and suffer a very valuable Part of her Staple Commodity to be wrested out of her Hands. The Products of 3 of the Western Counties are, perhaps, already of more value than those of all the other Counties put together. Those Products will greatly increase and become more valuable every day,—9,000 Bushels of Wheat, it is said, have been brought down this Fall from the settlements upon Juniata alone to Harris-Ferry. The New Purchase is crowding with Inhabitants, and will, in a very few years, be a well-settled, Plentiful country. Now, to keep this trade and Products of those Counties, and of that growing and flourishing Country, from being carried off to enrich the Inhabitants of another Province, and to turn them into their native and proper channel, it is absolutely necessary that proper Communications should be immediately opened between that Country and the Capital. A Turnpike Road has already been proposed as Part of a plan for doing this. If this Part should not be adopted, let us not lose Sight of the other Parts. Let an Inland Navigation be opened between Susquehanna and Schuylkill by means of the Waters of Swatara and Tulpohocken, which may be accomplished at a small Expende, according to the Information of a Gentleman who attended the Surveyor General and other Commissioners, who lately took a Level between the Heads of those Creeks, and observes, in a Letter to a Friend, that "Nature has pointed out the Design of joining those waters. The Ground is beautiful and level between; and the Heads of Quitiphililla are so nearly level with Tulpohocken, that there is but four inches Difference." The Advantages of this Communication must appear evident, at first sight, to any person who is acquainted with Pennsylvania, or that will take the Trouble to examine the Map of it. Let a Road be opened from Peach Bottom to Christian Creek. Let the Conestogoe Road, at least, be repaired at an expence of £5000, and let the like sum be laid out in opening and cleaning the new Road, leading through the Borough of Strasburgh.

Two Roads will divide the Number of Travellers, and of course be less liable to Decay. They may also raise an Emulation in the Overseers and Tavern-keepers of both, which may be of Advantage to the Public. These are the grand Channels through which the very Health and Life of Philadelphia ought to flow, and if these are obstructed, she can never thrive.

Much more might be said upon this Subject. But for my own part, being sensible of my Inability to treat it as it deserves, I set out only with a Design to select some Extracts from Mr. Horner, and to offer a few scattered Hints of my own, in Hopes of exciting those who possess more Leisure and Experience to impart their Knowledge and Sentiment to the Public, by which means the best Informations and Schemes may be obtained, and the principal End, at last, accomplished. Whether any Thing proposed here may contribute to this important Purpose, I know not. But this I declare, that it has been

dictated by a Zeal for the welfare of this flourishing Province, and that my wishes are that Philadelphia may one day be "the Crowning City, whose Merchants shall be Princes, whose Traffickers shall be the Honourable of the Earth," and that "Every Source of Improvement of the Trade, Wealth and Prosperity of Pennsylvania, by whatever means accomplished, may, together with its Liberty, be immortal."

Clericus.

And the letter is in these words:

April 28, 1773.

Honoured Sir:

As the Pacquet, which I did myself the pleasure to direct to your Honour in December last, was obliged to be sent by way of New York, I take this Opportunity of forwarding Duplicates.

I expect soon to hear that your State of Health is mended. That Temperance for which your Honour has been remarkable has preserved to you a good Constitution, which I trust will not sink under your present Complaint. I pray God to continue you long to your Family & Friends.

Pennsylvania still preserves its Superiority over every other Part of America. Notwithstanding the vast number that have removed into Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, &c., this Province is full of People and increases in Inhabitants & Wealth every Day. Even the *New Purchase* is already almost settled. Lands have doubled their Price there within these twelve months. A Subscription is now on foot here for making Susquehanna navigable for large Boats, which will undoubtedly succeed; this little town having subscribed no less than £. 500. This Scheme will greatly promote the Prosperity of the Back Country in particular & the Reputation & Commerce of the Province in general.

I published last year in the Pennsylvania Gazette some Observations upon public Roads & Proposals for a kind of Turnpike from Wright's Ferry on Susquehanna to Philadelphia, which your Honour, no Doubt, has taken notice of, as you receive the paper. I had the pleasure to find that they were well received. The Amendment of our public Roads & Inland Navigation very much engage the Attention of the People here at present. Whenever they are able practically to pursue measures for these Purposes, Pennsylvania will literally become a happier Land than even that described in the 8th Chap. of Deuteronomy. I hear our late worthy Governor is soon expected here. The Residence of one of our Hon^{ble} Proprietaries in the Province will give a Spur to every public measure & facilitate every Proposal for its advantage. I beg, Hon Sir, to take the Liberty, thro you, of presenting him my most respectful Compliments. I received many marks of Favour from him, while he was here, for which I ought to & always shall be grateful.

With my best wishes for Lady Juliana & her tender charge,

I am, Hon Sir, with the most perfect affection & esteem,

Your Honour's ever obliged & Obedt Servant,

THOS. BARTON.

Lancaster, April 28, 1773.

The Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn, Esquire,
Inn Spring Gardens,
London.

Minutes of the June Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., Friday, June 6, 1919.

The monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held on Friday evening, June 6, at their rooms in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library. Judge Charles I. Landis presided and read a paper on "The Beginnings of Artificial Roads in Pennsylvania," which was very informative and well received. John L. Summy served as secretary.

The report of Librarian Harry Stehman, Jr., showed that among the important donations received during the past month have been: 350 volumes of a miscellaneous character from Ex-Senator S. M. Mylin, of Pequea Valley; a German prayer book of the year 1739, from Charles E. Long, of Lancaster; two fine pictures of old Conestoga wagons, from Amos S. Gingrich, of Lancaster; a pamphlet, "The Pennsylvania Canals," from James McFarland, of Pittsburgh; and a history of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike by Hon. Charles I. Landis.

The following publications were also received during the past month as donations and exchanges:

Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1910-1911.

The Pennsylvania Magazine, April, 1919.

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, March, 1919.

The Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1919.

Wisconsin Magazine of History.

Schools in Textile Industry in the Southern States.

The Pennsylvania Canals, from James McFarland, of Pittsburgh.

American Temperance Union Almanac, 1843.

The Dollar Newspaper, copy of February 9, 1848 (Philadelphia).

Report of National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, 1918.

The Carry On Magazine for April and May.

Routine and special business were considered. The report of Treasurer A. K. Hostetter showed the finances of the Society to be in good shape. Vice-President H. Frank Eshleman supplemented the paper by Judge Landis with some interesting remarks.

Judge Landis's paper consisted in the main of an article published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of February 20, 1772, and signed "Clericus," whom he showed was Rev. Thomas Barton, then rector of St. James Episcopal church in this city; also a letter written by him to Thomas Penn, Jr., of London. The article showed that the first move looking towards the building of a turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster originated among the people of Lancaster County.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOYALISTS IN THE REVOLUTION,
BY FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.

MINUTES OF THE SEPTEMBER MEETING.

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The Loyalists in the Revolution.

First Paper.

By FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

INTRODUCTION

We are so far removed from the days of the Revolution, and most of us know of it only through the medium of school or popular histories, that we have a very inadequate, and I may add an improper idea of the actual situation. The most favorable aspect of that struggle is always placed before us, while the darker features are generally kept in the background. It is only when we go back and examine original sources, read contemporaneous documents, make ourselves masters of what the principal actors in that great drama had to say of it as it moved slowly through the years, that we get a true insight into its disagreeable features.

I do not now allude to the opposing sentiment that existed among the people, that led them to espouse the different sides as their feelings dictated; but to the indifference and the half-hearted way in which only too many of the Whigs, as they were called, gave support to the cause of independence. We denounce the Loyalists without stint for their unpatriotic part in that great struggle; but there is also much to condemn among those who professed the greatest loyalty to the cause of the colonies. Their actions too often belied their professions. The greed of gain swayed the men of 1776 even as it sways the men of our own days. Avarice was as rampant then among private individuals and army contractors as it has been at any period since. Many of those who had merchandise in the camps held it at extortionate prices, compelling the commissioners of subsistence in many cases to seize it by force. Soldiers were almost starved in the field that contractors might become rich. The traffic with the enemy was on an immense scale, and I regret to say men of all kinds engaged in it. British guineas were more attractive than depreciated Continental paper.

The habit grew as the struggle proceeded. Even men high in office were often not averse to engaging in this wretched business. The public securities were counterfeited. Appeals from the pulpit and press went unheeded. Men refused to pay their taxes and often their debts, when they could avoid it. Washington, in one of his letters to Joseph Reed, said: "It gives me very sincere pleasure to find the Assembly (of Pennsylvania) is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers, to condign punishment." Again, he writes: "From what I have seen, heard and in part know, I should in one

word say, that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most; the speculation, peculation and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration."

The country was not poor. Before the revolution, it imported tea of the value of two and a half million dollars annually, and many articles of luxury, and was well able to support the few thousands who served in the thinned ranks of the army; and yet we all know that provisions were never over-abundant, and how often our soldiers were absolutely suffering from hunger. All this time, the King's troops reveled in abundance supported by "patriotic farmers." "I am amazed," wrote Washington to Colonel Stewart, "at the report you make of the quantity of provisions that goes daily into Philadelphia from the County of Bucks." Philadelphia was at that time occupied by the British forces, while twenty miles away the patriot army lay shivering in the snows of Valley Forge, and almost at the verge of starvation.

I must allude to still another most discouraging feature of the struggle, the reluctance of the many to enter the ranks of the army and to remain there. As the war went on, it was found impossible to keep the ranks filled; in fact, they never were full. The professions and practice of most were not in accord. There was always a big army on paper, but never in actual service. "At the close of one campaign, there were not enough troops in camp to man the lines; at the opening of another, when the Commander-in-Chief was expected to take the field, scarce any state in the Union," as he himself said, "had an eighth part of its quota in the service." A resort to the payment of bounties became a necessity. In time, these bounties became excessive,—seven hundred and fifty dollars, and sometimes even one thousand dollars,—besides the bounty and emolument given by Congress. As much as one hundred and fifty dollars was paid in specie for a five-months service.

It is true we should make some allowance for many of these men. Most came from their farms and workshops from which they derived their means of subsistence. The claims of their families, too, had to be considered. The women and children could not carry on the home work satisfactorily. These causes must be added to the want of clothing and food and the natural hardships of the campaign. A competent authority tells us: "There were soldiers of the Revolution who deserted in parties of twenty and thirty at a time. A thousand men, the date of whose enlistment had been misplaced, perjured themselves in a body, as fast as they could be sworn, in order to quit the ranks which they had voluntarily entered. In smaller parties, hundreds of others demanded dismissal from camp under false pretexts, with lies on their lips. Some, also, added treason to desertion and joined the various corps of loyalists in the capacity of spies upon their former friends, or of guides and pioneers. Many more enlisted, deserted and re-enlisted under new recruiting officers, for the purpose of receiving double bounty; while others who placed their names upon the rolls were paid the money to which they were entitled, but refused to join the army. Another class sold their clothing, provisions and arms, to obtain means for reveling and to indulge their propensity for drunkenness; while some prowled about the country, to rob and kill the unoffending and defenseless."¹

¹ Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, pp. 146-147.

In innumerable cases, the officers were no better than the private soldiers. There were some who were as destitute of patriotism as of honor, who drew large amounts of money to pay their men, but who applied them to their own purposes. Some went to their homes on furloughs and failed to return, and "who, regardless of their word as men of honor, violated their paroles, and were threatened by Washington with exposure in every newspaper in the land, as men who had disgraced themselves and were heedless of their associates in captivity. At times, courts-martial were continually sitting; and so numerous were the convictions, that the names of those cashiered were sent to Congress in lists." "Many of the surgeons," said Washington, "are very great rascals, countenancing the men to sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify to indispositions, with a view to procure discharges or furloughs; and they drew medicines and stores in the most profuse and extravagant manner, for private purposes." In a letter to his brother, he declared the different states nominated officers who were "not fit to be shoe-blacks." In 1777, John Adams wrote: "I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts." All this is unpleasant reading. I call it up to show what many do not know, and which still fewer may be willing to believe, that the bad men were not all on one side of that contest and that the Whigs were not all saints any more than the Tories were all sinners. Our struggle for independence had its lights and shadows,—nearly as many of the latter as of the former.

NO DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE AT FIRST.

The people as a rule did not desire a change. The testimony on this point is strong. Soon after peace was declared, John Adams wrote: "There was not a moment during the Revolution, when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration of the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance." This seems a proper place to point out the difference between the two parties at the outbreak of the struggle. The Whigs were willing to remain as subjects of the King, if they were secured in their rights; while the Loyalists were willing to remain so, without asking for securities.

Franklin but a short time before the fatal affair at Lexington testified that he had "more than once traveled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing with them freely, and never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." Testimony to the same effect was borne by Mr. Jay, our first Chief Justice. He said: "During the course of my life, and until the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies." Mr. Jefferson is on record in these words: "What, eastward of New York, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; but before that, I

never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and, after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." Mr. Madison may also be quoted: "It has always been my impression that a re-establishment of the colonial relations to the parent country, as they were previous to the controversy, was the real object of every class of the people, till the despair of obtaining it," etc.

"The native-born Presbyterians were almost all staunch Whigs; but the Scotch traders and merchants, numerous in the southern colonies, adhered generally to the Tory side." "The Episcopal clergy throughout the colonies leaned, with very few exceptions, to the support of the crown; and in the middle and northern provinces, their flocks were chiefly of the same way of thinking."²

"A large number of the merchants in all the chief commercial towns of the colonies were openly hostile, or but coldly inclined to the common cause."³

"The barbarous and disgraceful practice of tarring and feathering, and carting Tories—placing them in a cart and carrying them about as a sort of spectacle—had become in some places a favorite amusement."⁴

LOYALISTS IN BRITISH ARMY.

It is, of course, impossible at this late day to form a correct estimate of the number of loyalists who served under the standard of Great Britain in the field. The best that can be done is to make an approximate estimate, and this has been done by various competent hands after carefully sifting all the evidence. The loyalists themselves, in an address presented to the King in 1779, declared that the number of their countrymen then serving in the armies of his Majesty "exceeded in number the troops enlisted (by Congress) to oppose them."

Not only did many enlist as single individuals, but there were many organizations composed exclusively of Loyalists. The names of these various corps may be given. They were: "The King's Rangers; The Royal Fencible Americans; The Queen's Rangers; The New York Volunteers; The King's American Regiment; The Prince of Wales' American Volunteers; The Maryland Loyalists; De Lancy's Battalions; The Second American Regiment; The King's Rangers, Carolina; The South Carolina Royalists; The North Carolina Highland Regiment; The King's American Dragoons; The Loyal American Regiment; The American Legion; The New Jersey Volunteers; The British Legion; The Loyal Foresters; The Orange Rangers; The Pennsylvania Loyalists; The Guides and Pioneers; The North Carolina Volunteers; The Georgia Loyalists; The West Chester Volunteers; The Loyal New Englanders; The Associated Loyalists; and Wentworth's Volunteers." Several of the foregoing corps consisted of three battalions, which made a total of thirty-one separate organizations, all commanded either by colonels or lieutenant-colonels. It is on record that Col. Archibald Hamilton, of New York, at one period, commanded seventeen companies of loyal militia. The officers of twenty-one

² Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 56.

³ Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 102.

⁴ Hildreth, pp. 56, 102, 182.

corps were on the pay-roll of the British army as late as June 27, 1783, as on that day Lord North rose in the House of Commons and asked for £15,000 on account of half pay of the officers in command of these troops. The money was voted without debate.

PROMINENT PENNSYLVANIA LOYALISTS.

Among the loyalists of our own state, William Allen, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, was one of the most noted. He was very rich, noted for his love of literature, and was a patron of Benjamin West. He died in England in 1780. His son, William Allen, left the Continental service and in 1778 raised the corps known as the "Pennsylvania Loyalists." He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated. Another son, John, was an open loyalist from the beginning and joined General Howe at Trenton. He, too, was attainted of treason. The third son of Chief Justice Allen was James. He was the only one who did not join the British, but he was suspected of being loyal.

Matthias Apsden was a prosperous merchant of Philadelphia who was making a profit of £2,000 annually. He left the state in 1776. He was among those summoned to be tried for treason. Of course, he did not appear, and his house, warehouse and wharf, renting for £1,000, were given to the University of Pennsylvania. He received a pardon in 1786, and at his death his estate was worth \$500,000.

Henry Hugh Ferguson, of Pennsylvania, was made a commissary of prisoners. His wife was the granddaughter of Sir William Keith, one of the Proprietary Governors. In 1778, he was attainted and proscribed. His wife made an appeal for him. In it, she said: "As to my little estate, it is patrimonial, and left me in fee simple by my father," and she appealed that the Council should not allow the sale of it in consequence of her husband's right by marriage. It was confiscated all the same, although a part was subsequently restored to her.

The two Hamiltons, James and William, were, after the Allens and Joseph Galloway, the most noted Loyalists in this state. James was put in jail in 1777. He asked the Executive Council to allow him to remain in his own house, because of his age, a severe disease, and because his extensive affairs required his presence. In case of a removal elsewhere, he asked that his nephew, William, might be allowed to manage his affairs. In March, 1778, he was under restraint at Northampton, and asked to return to his family. The boon was granted. In April, he was allowed liberty to act as he pleased.

William Hamilton was once the proprietor of much of the land on which this City of Lancaster is built. Witham Marshe, in his journal, says he was here in 1744 with the commissioners of various colonies to form a treaty with the Six Nations, and the same diarist says of him that he "made a ball, and opened it, by dancing minuets with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians." He raised a Whig regiment in the neighborhood of the Schuylkill, but resigned the command at the issuing of the Declaration of Independence. Isaac Ogden wrote to Joseph Galloway in 1778: "Billy Hamilton had a narrow escape; his trial for treason against the

states lasted twelve hours. I have seen a gentleman who attended his trial; he informed me that his acquittal was owing to a defect of proof of a paper from Lord Cornwallis, his direction being torn off." He was in jail in the fall of 1780, at which time he wrote to the President of the Council asking to be released. The Hamiltons were men of wealth and influence. William owned a fine country seat called the Woodlands.

Richard Hovenden joined the English army and was made a captain in the British Legion. He was for a time connected with the Queen's Rangers and operated in the vicinity of Philadelphia, managing to secure considerable clothing. His company was finally incorporated with Tarleton's famous Legion. He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated.

Christian Huch, a lawyer of Philadelphia, went to New York and united his fortunes with the King's forces. He was a captain of dragoons in Tarleton's Legion. Sabine says he was killed in an affray with a "party of rebels" he was about to disperse. At the moment of the attack in which he was slain, several women were on their knees before him imploring him to spare their families and property. He was exceedingly profane and had said God Almighty had turned rebel, but, if there were twenty Gods on their side, they would all be conquered. He was one of our worst Loyalists. He was attainted of treason and his estate confiscated.

Dr. John Kearsley was a zealous friend of the royal cause. He was arrested in the summer of 1775 at his own house and carted through the streets of Philadelphia to the tune of the "Rogue's March." During this violent proceeding, he received a bayonet wound. After he had been placed in the cart, the mob gave a wild huzza, at which the doctor, to show his contempt for "the people," took his wig in his injured hand, swung it around his head and huzzaed louder and longer than his persecutors, for the King. The mob was indignant, and then proposed to tar and feather him, but that part of the programme was omitted. Instead, they broke the doors of his house, and his windows with stones. He was attainted of treason and his property confiscated. This is the same Dr. Kearsley who was consigned to a committee of the citizens of this city, put into jail here, and later imprisoned at York. His treatment and sufferings resulted in his insanity, which continued until his death.

Robert Proud, the well-known historian of Pennsylvania, was strongly attached to the crown. He was firmly persuaded that the Revolution would prove "the cause and also the decline of national virtue in America." He took no active part in the struggle, however, and was not molested.

Thomas Wharton, the elder, was a Quaker merchant of great influence and wealth. Washington records that he dined at his house. In 1777, he was arrested and sent as a prisoner into Virginia. Subsequently, he was proscribed as an enemy to his country, and his estate was confiscated. His son, Thomas Wharton, Jr., was a Whig and Governor of Pennsylvania.

William Rankin was a Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia. "Ten proclamations were issued for his apprehension." He was attainted and his estate confiscated.

No mention is made in this article of Colonel John Connelly, although

he was born and raised in our County of Lancaster, and proved to be one of the most subservient, intriguing and detestable of all the adherents of the crown in the State of Pennsylvania. A lengthy sketch of him appeared in volume 7 of the Proceedings of this Society.

CONFISCATION NOT THOUGHT OF AT FIRST.

The confiscation and sale of the property of Loyalists was not resolved upon at the beginning of the struggle. It appears to have been a matter of gradual growth. As their strength and power to do harm became more manifest, with them came also the conviction that the most repressive measures were necessary. It was more a blow at individuals than at Loyalists as a party. Even at the beginning of proceedings against them no thought of taking their property was entertained. When they were disarmed their arms were marked and appraised so that their value might be restored to the owners at the close of the war. It was Britain that set the example of confiscation originally. In 1775 Parliament ordered all American ships and their cargoes seized on the high seas to be confiscated. When General Howe reached New York the confiscation of the property of Whigs was commenced in Manhattan, Staten and Long Islands. Loyalists were promised the property of their rebel neighbors when the war should be over. At first only personal property was seized, but later real estate also. These steps naturally led the several Colonies to retaliate, and they individually as well as Congress soon took up the plan which the mother country had already begun. At first the confiscations were of a mild order, but in the end every shred of property owned by a Loyalist that could be come at was seized and sold. Commissioners of sequestration and agents for the sale of confiscated estates were appointed in all the States, and these kept a sharp eye on all suspected parties and their estates, and made reports of what they had discovered. The amount of money paid into the Treasury of New York out of personal property alone between 1778 and 1783 was £260,595, or about \$400,000 in gold or silver. By 1782 Loyalist lands had been confiscated and sold in New York amounting to \$2,500,000 in hard money.⁵

New York kept on selling the estates of Loyalists long after peace was declared, and this continued actively until 1808 and at less frequent intervals for some years longer. Lecky, the historian asserts that "Two thirds of the property of New York was supposed to belong to the Tories."⁶

John Adams thought New York would have joined the British had not the example of New England deterred her.⁷ Judge Thomas McKean believed that one third of all the Colonists were Loyalists.⁸ Alexander Hamilton declared that not half the people were Whigs in 1775, and that one third still sympathized with the British in 1782.⁹ Gouverneur Morris thought it was doubtful whether more than one half the people of New York "were even in really

⁵ Lecky's History of England in Eighteenth Century, Vol. 3, p. 479.

⁶ Flick's Loyalists in N. Y., p. 150.

⁷ Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, pp. 63-110.

⁸ Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, p. 87.

⁹ Winson's North America, Vol. 7, pp. 185-187.

hearty and active sympathy with the patriots."¹⁰ In 1782 it was reported that more were for the King than for Congress.¹¹ Sabine concludes that in New York the Whigs were far weaker than their opponents.

Of the three hundred and ten that were banished from Massachusetts, upwards of sixty were graduates of Harvard College, and of the five judges of the Supreme Court of that Colony at the commencement of the troubles, four were Loyalists.

The more pronounced Loyalists while residing in England were granted allowances from the British Government. I quote the following: "This day I went to the Treasury to inquire about my allowance, and to my comfort found it stood as at first. A few are raised, some struck off, more lessened. Of those that have come to my knowledge, Gov. Oliver's is lessened £110 out of £300. Mr. Williams, who has married a fortune here, is struck off; Harrison Gray, with a wife and two children struck off; his brother Lewis lessened to £50; D. Ingersoll reduced from £200 to £100. . . . Many names and sums totally forgotten. On the whole, it is said the sum paid last year to Refugees, amounting to near £80,000, is now shrunk by the late reform to £38,000."¹²

When the British forces evacuated Boston in March, 1776, 926 persons went to Halifax with the army.¹³

Even the loyalty of John Dickinson when he was elected President of the Executive Council 1782 was questioned.¹⁴ On September 23, 1777, Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at Pottsgrove (Pottstown), in speaking of the difficulty he had in getting information of the enemy's movements, said, the people of the neighborhood "being to a man disaffected."¹⁵ A month later, October 27, 1777, in a letter to Landon Carle, from near Philadelphia, he speaks of "the disaffection of a greater part of the inhabitants of this State."¹⁶

Bancroft says that as late as October, 1775, "The Americas had not designed to establish an independent government; of their leading statesmen it was the desire of Samuel Adams alone; the rest had all been educated in the line and admiration of constitutional monarchy, and even John Adams and Thomas Jefferson so sincerely shrunk back from the attempt at creating another government in its stead, that, to the last moment, they were anxious to avert a separation if it could be avoided without a loss of their liberties."¹⁷ One half the inhabitants of South Carolina were ready to take sides with the King.¹⁸ Washington declared, "When I first took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence."¹⁹ In the assembly of Pennsylvania in

¹⁰ Roosevelt's Gov. Morris, p. 36.

¹¹ Canadian Arch., 1880, p. 925.

¹² Curwen's Journal, p. 404.

¹³ Curwen's Journal, pp. 685-688.

¹⁴ Rupp, p. 422.

¹⁵ Itinerary of George Washington, p. 92.

¹⁶ Itinerary of George Washington, p. 102.

¹⁷ Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 161.

¹⁸ Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 350.

¹⁹ Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 384.

June, 1776, only Clymer was in favor of independence. In 1777 the militia of Staten Island, 400 in number, swore allegiance to the King.²⁰

The fight at Oriskany has been described as a battle between brothers, fathers, sons and neighbors. To political differences were added hatred, spite and a thirst for revenge. It is said that in that "fratricidal butchery" most of the male inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley perished.²¹

Flick in his admirable work on Loyalism in New York states that "judging from the inadequate records, it appears that there must have been at least 15,000 New York Loyalists in the British army and navy, and at least 8,500 Loyalist militia, making a total in that state of 23,500 troops. That was more than any other colony furnished, and perhaps as many as were raised by all the others combined. The Revolutionary troops in New York numbered only 17,781 regulars, and 41,633 including the militia. New York Loyalists fought in every battle on New York soil, and in most of the other battles of the war, and were repeatedly commended for their gallantry."²² Under an act of attainder and felony passed by New York on October 22, 1779, fifty-nine persons were named whose property should be forfeited to the State. The list included two Governors, seven Councillors, two Supreme Court Justices, one attorney general, twenty-four esquires and two of their sons, one mayor of New York City, two knights, four gentlemen, nine merchants, one minister.

In South Carolina the following officers refused to sign the articles of association when requested by the general committee of the Revolution: Thos. K. Garm, Chief Justice; Edward Souage, Charles M. Costell, John Fewtrell and William Gregory, Associate Judges. Besides these the Secretary of the Province, the Attorney General, Deputy Postmaster General, Governor's Secretary, Deputy Auditor General, and others also refused. They were allowed to take their property and retire peaceably. Some went to England and others to the West Indies.²³

The illustrious John Jay said the Revolution was a subject upon which men might honestly differ.²⁴ Robert, Lord Fairfax, claimed from the British Government £90,000 for the value of his property confiscated. He was allowed £60,000.²⁵

The Loyalists were continually ill treated by the English commanders. They were of great service to General Burgoyne in his campaign, but he spoke not a single word for them in his articles of capitulation. He even went so far as to blame them for his defeat, and after his surrender several thousands were compelled to flee to Canada.²⁶ The 300-acre farm given by the Act of the New York legislature to Thomas Paine, was confiscated as the property of one Frederick Devoe, a convicted traitor. Whig mobs went

²⁰ Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 33.

²¹ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 217.

²² Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 112-113.

²³ Curwen's Letters, p. 491.

²⁴ Curwen's Letters, p. 540.

²⁵ Curwen's Letters, p. 541.

²⁶ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 681-686.

through the streets of New York searching for Loyalists, and many were dragged from places where they had hidden to escape the undeserved vengeance of the ungovernable rabble. "These unhappy victims were put upon sharp rails, with one leg on each side; each rail was carried upon the shoulders of two tall men, with a man on each side to keep the poor wretch straight and fixed in his seat." Numbers were treated in this way; they were paraded through the streets and in front of the building in which the Provincial Convention was sitting, and before General Washington's own door, who so far approved of "this inhuman, barbarous proceeding that he gave a very severe reprimand to General Putnam, who accidentally meeting one of these processions on the street, and shocked by its barbarity, attempted to put a stop to it, Washington declaring that to discourage such proceeding was injuring the cause of liberty in which they were engaged, and that no one would attempt it but an enemy to his country."²⁷ That was not the only time that "The Father of his Country" showed his bitter enmity to Loyalism, although there was a time when he had no thought that affairs would ultimately result in a declaration of independence by the Colonies.

All persons known to be disaffected to the cause of America were ordered to be disarmed. The purpose of this was twofold, to make them harmless and provide arms for the Continental armies. Whole communities in New York where Loyalists were numerous were thus disarmed. A refusal to give up arms was followed by a fine. Influential Loyalists were generally remanded to neighboring colonies and put on parole of honor. If they refused this they were imprisoned. The arrival of General Howe at New York was the signal for the uprising of the Loyalist element in that state, where it had always been stronger than anywhere else. Half a dozen prominent Loyalists began recruiting and soon thousands had taken service under the standard of the King. Howe would not bombard the city of New York because of the large amount of Tory property in it, and Washington was urged to burn it "because two-thirds of the city and suburbs belongs to the Tories."²⁸ Captain John Dunsan wrote to the Provincial Congress from Dutchess County, N. Y., that his whole militia company was Tory except the lieutenant and himself, and Col. Morris complained that out of his entire regiment not more than a colonel's command was true to the American cause.²⁹ Maj. Wertz writes to Prest. Whalebleat, that there are 19 tons of powder in Lancaster and a new powder house needed.³⁰ In October, 1776, New York advised the Pennsylvania Council of Safety about 33 persons for safety, mostly charged with treasonable practices.³¹ On October 26, 1776, Lieut. Col. Wm. Baxter wrote to the Council of Safety as follows: Neshaminy, Bucks County: "No doubt you have heard of an election yesterday by the Tory party at Nicetown, this county, etc."³² In July, 1783, fifty-five prominent Loyalists, most of whom had either served

²⁷ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 101-103.

²⁸ Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 107-108.

²⁹ Journal of Provincial Congress, Vol. 1, p. 654.

³⁰ Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 210.

³¹ *Av.* 5-40.

³² Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 54.

the British in civil or military capacities petitioned General Sir Guy Carleton for grants of land in Nova Scotia. They declared their standing in society prior to the Revolution had been good and that they had much influence, which had been exerted in the royal cause. They declared their intention of migrating to Nova Scotia, and asked that as much land might be given to each of them as were granted to freed officers, free from quit rents and other incumbrances. Their desire was ultimately granted.

As an example of a "dyed in the wool" Loyalist, the case of Cadwallader Colden of New York may be cited. When he was arrested in June, 1776, he was examined and committed to the Ulster County jail. The examining committee reported that he had said "he should ever oppose independency with all his might, and wished to the Lord that his name might be entered on record as opposed to that matter, and handed down to latest posterity."

In Pennsylvania, however, the success of the British in enlisting men into their service was not great. During Howe's occupancy of Philadelphia, "The Pennsylvania Loyalists," who had William Allen, Jr., as Colonel, and the "Queen's Rangers," commanded by Lieut. Col. Suncoo, were the most important military organizations.³³

ROUGH TREATMENT OF LOYALISTS.

There was an intense feeling against the Tories after the British evacuation of Philadelphia, and this culminated in the hanging of Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts for treason.³⁴ Dr. Adams of New York was hoisted to a tavern sign post along with a dead wild cat. General Oliver De Lancey was one of the most influential Loyalists in the State of New York. He commanded three battalions. Once when away from home his place was raided by the Whigs, who burned his house and barns and rudely treated the ladies of his household. His wife who was very deaf, hid herself in a dog kennel where she was nearly burned; her daughter and a companion wandered about the woods for hours in their night clothes. Rev. John Stuart, D.D., born at Harrisburg, Pa., was the last Episcopal Missionary to the Mohawk Indians, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia. He constantly refused to omit the prayers for the King in his church services. He remained unmolested until after the Declaration of Independence. His relations with the Six Nations and the Johnsons of New York rendered him an object of suspicion. His house was attacked, his property plundered, and every possible indignity offered to his person. His church was also raided, then turned into a tavern, and in ridicule and contempt a barrel of rum was placed on the reading desk. Afterwards the Church was turned into a stable and later into a fort. He was allowed to retire to Canada, where he prospered and his family became eminent.

The fact is there was doubt and confusion in the minds of thousands of men. Sometimes they were inclined to this side and then again to that. They were inclined for the most part to do what they thought best for the country, as well as for their individual interests.

³³ Pennsylvania Prin., 183.

³⁴ Pennsylvania Prin., 84.

Colonel Boyd of South Carolina, in command of a body of Tories, fell in a skirmish with a force under General Pickens. In that engagement neighbor fought against neighbor. In the exasperation of the moment, the Whigs doomed seventy of their prisoners to death, but relented at the last moment and killed only five. Thomas Braun of Georgia ridiculed the Whigs in a toast at dinner. He was threatened and fled, but was pursued, captured and brought back, tried and sentenced to be tarred and feathered; to be publicly exposed in a cart; to be hauled three miles or until he recanted and swore fealty to the Whig cause. As he refused to comply with these terms he was punished as had been decreed, and, in addition, denounced as "no gentleman." Later he became a Tory colonel and in that capacity defeated a party of patriots under Colonel Clark, taking a number of wounded and other prisoners. Thirteen of the wounded were hung in his presence. In 1780, he ordered five persons to be hung; when nearly dead they were cut down and turned over to the Indians, who scalped and otherwise mutilated one of them. Later in a published defense of himself, he charged General Pickens with permitting the murder of Loyalist prisoners under his own eyes.

WHO WERE THE LOYALISTS?

It may be asked who comprised the rank and file of the Loyalists. It is not too much to say that in almost every community, they were among the most wealthy and influential men. The governors of all the Colonies were Loyalists, as were also the Lieutenant-Governors; so were the councilors, many assemblymen, most of the judges, the military and naval officers, and most other officials, down to the magistrates. The large landed proprietors were also adherents to the crown, like the De Lancys, the De Puysters, and Van Cortlands. The professions were strongly represented in the Loyalist ranks. The physicians, teachers and ministers were also in this class. The wealthy commercial class in the cities also mainly adhered to the King's party; their interests were the first to be affected and naturally they went with the party they believed would win. They were prosperous, and they saw that war could only mean ruin to them. Lastly, the conservative masses almost everywhere regarded a severance of the old ties with the mother country as an evil for which there was no visible compensation. It deserves to be mentioned that while that side of the issue was largely dominated by the Anglican church, men of all other creeds were found in the Loyalist ranks, such as Lutherans, Methodists, Quakers, Presbyterians and Catholics. The majority of them were, of course, Englishmen; but many Germans, Irish, Dutch and French rallied under the banners of King George. Sir John Johnson's Royal Regiment, numbering 800 men, were mostly Lutherans and Presbyterians.³⁵

THE CHURCHLY ELEMENT.

In Pennsylvania, the Sect people and the Quakers were in the majority. The former opposed wars on principle. The Quakers did likewise, and were very generally Loyalists. In New York and throughout the southern colonies,

³⁵ Flick's *Loyalism during the American Revolution*, p. 36.

the Church of England largely held sway. Wherever established, Anglicanism was on the side of the crown. Its clergymen were nurtured in sentiments of loyalty and valiantly upheld its prerogatives. Its prayers were regularly offered up for the King and his officers. At the time, it constituted the most influential element of the population. With scarcely an exception, the Anglican ministers were ardent Loyalists. The leading Loyalists almost everywhere who were active in a military or civil capacity were members of that church.

PAMPHLETEERS.

In the beginning of these troubles, along in 1774, 1775 and 1776, pamphleteers on both sides were busily writing and publishing articles which were widely read and distributed. These form, perhaps, the most interesting literature of the times, and coming as they did from Whig and Loyalist alike, they afford a very excellent opportunity to gauge the sentiments and sincerity of the two parties. As the Whigs grew stronger and the resolutions of the Continental Congress against non-associators and Loyalists became more and more enforced, the Loyalist writers, either joined the British wherever they happened to be in possession, or else remained silent.

LOYALISM IN THE VARIOUS COLONIES.

Although Massachusetts is regarded as having been the hot-bed of patriotism at the outbreak of the Revolution, when the royal army evacuated Boston in 1776, upwards of eleven hundred Loyalists went with it. Nor were these British office-holders chiefly, but many men of distinguished rank and importance in the colony; eighteen were clergymen, two hundred and thirteen were merchants and other residents of the city, while of farmers, mechanics and traders, there were three hundred and eighty-two. Others had gone previously and some went later, making in all at least two thousand persons. Sabine is authority for the statement that in Connecticut, the proportion of Loyalists to the population was even greater than in Massachusetts.³⁶

In all the northern colonies, New York was most thoroughly saturated with loyalism. She put, as has been before stated, only 17,781 regular soldiers and 23,852 militia into the War, while Massachusetts furnished 67,907. As an example of the preponderance of the Loyalists in that state, it may be mentioned that, not long after the close of the Revolutionary War, a bill was put through the State Assembly, prohibiting all persons from holding office who had allied themselves to the enemy. When this bill went to the upper branch of the Legislature, it was rejected, because it was stated, if it became a law, it would be impossible to hold elections in some portions of the state, because there were not enough Whigs in some localities to conduct the elections.³⁷

(Continued.)

³⁶ Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, p. 27.

³⁷ Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, pp. 28-29.

Minutes of the September Meeting.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1919.

In the absence of Judge Landis, President, and of Dr. Diffenderffer, First Vice-President of this Society, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Second Vice-President, occupied the chair for the evening. He called upon D. B. Landis to act for the Secretary, C. B. Hollinger, who was absent.

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter presented and read his report and in the absence of Librarian Stehman, Mr. Hostetter read the report, showing a large number of donations, together with others added at the meeting, all of which are noted to report accompanying these minutes. Mr. S. M. Mylin, of Herrville, was the donator of a large number of books and pamphlets of general interest.

The complete list of donations and exchanges received follows:

- A Victory Liberty Loan Honor Flag, from the U. S. Treasury Department.
- Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society, 1919.
- Program of Eleventh Annual Donegal Reunion, June 19, 1919.
- Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1918.
- Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins 64 and 65.
- New York State Museum Bulletin, March-April, 1918.
- American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Pamphlets 1, 2 and 3, 1919.
- The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, July, 1919.
- The American Historical Review, July, 1919.
- The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, July, 1919.
- The Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1919.
- Wyoming County Historical Society Proceedings, 1918.
- Bucks County Historical Society Pamphlet, January, 1918.
- The Linden Hall Echo, May and June, 1919.
- German American Annals of 1919.
- New York Library Historical Bulletin No. 12.
- Annual Report of Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, 1918.
- List of References on the Monroe Doctrine—Library of Congress.
- Allegheny County Memorial Meeting and Mothers' Day Observance, 1917.
- The Carry-On Magazine of Reconstruction, June and July, 1919.
- Washington State Historical Society Quarterly, July, 1919.
- Historical papers and other local publications from C. B. Hollinger and F. R. Diffenderffer.
- Old standard magazines from H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.
- Report of the Woman's Committee for the Fifth Victory Liberty Loan Campaign, presented by Martha B. Clark.
- Current Number of Lebanon County Historical Society.

Official Badge of 53d Annual Encampment, Department of Pennsylvania. G. A. R., Lancaster, June, 1919, presented by Washington F. Hambright.

Miscellaneous Local Publications by A. Herr Smith Library.

Poem, by David Bachman Landis, "Why We Rejoice," read before the late Landis Reunion, at Perkaspie, Pa.

Mr. A. K. Hostetter reported progress in regard to the printing of pamphlets, etc.

For the Outing Committee, Miss Martha B. Clark stated that the Society would assemble at Cassel's Park, near Marietta, on Sept. 20th, and that programs for the occasion were being printed which would be mailed to members and guests the following week from regular meeting. Miss Adeline B. Spindler also made a statement for the musical part of the program, speaking of the leadership of Mr. Wm. A. Trost.

Mr. Eshleman then read for the author F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., the paper of the evening, on "The Loyalists in the Revolution." This historical record was subdivided into headings, showing and treating both sides of popular feeling during the stirring Revolutionary period. Quite a number of prominent Pennsylvania men were noted in the activities of that time. The subject was more thoroughly gone into than of any previous paper in the Society's Proceedings, being exhaustive and informative. The pamphleteers of the war contributed considerable propaganda pro and con.

Brief discussions ensued participated in by Messrs. John H. Landis, Mrs. M. N. Robinson, Miss Clark, D. B. Landis and others.

Upon motion of Mr. Hostetter, publication of the paper was referred in the usual way to the Executive Committee.

The meeting then adjourned. There was a good attendance for the first Fall meeting.

D. B. LANDIS,
Secretary pro tem.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

ITEMS OF LOCAL INTEREST IN THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, 1750 TO 1760 INCLUSIVE

BY H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.

MINUTES OF THE OCTOBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 8.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1919

**Items of Local Interest in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1750
to 1760 Inclusive - - - - - 133**

Copied by H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

Minutes of the October Meeting - - - - - 149

Items of Local Interest in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1750 to 1760 Inclusive.

COPIED BY H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.

In our February pamphlet of 1918 appears the last installment of a series of items of local interest, and historical importance, found in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, bringing those items down to 1750 from the beginning of that newspaper's career, in 1727.

The list ought to be made complete to the end of the *Gazette's* existence. Therefore another installment of those items is now offered.

1751.

In the issue of February 19, 1751, there is advertised a "Scheme of a lottery to be set up in the Boro of Lancaster for purchasing a fire engine and for other public uses to consist of 3,200 tickets at 13 pieces of eight each, 923 of which to be fortunate." The number of prizes and the value of them were as follows:

3 of 100 total value	300
6 of 50 total value	300
12 of 25 total value	300
40 of 20 total value	800
60 of 10 total value	600
800 of 4 total value	3,200
First drawn, value	50
Last drawn, value	50
	<u>5,600</u>

Number of prizes 923—value 5,600 pieces of eight, or \$700.

There were 3,200 tickets at 2 pieces of eight each making 6,400 pieces of eight; and out of them 12½ per cent. or 800 pieces of eight, was to be deducted for the use of the management toward the fire engine, etc.; and 87½ per cent. or 5,600 pieces of eight went to the lucky ticket holders as prizes.

The article continues: "The drawing to be done 4th of June next, or sooner, if sooner full, of which notice is to be given. That such adventurers as choose to be present may see the tickets put into the box.

"The following persons are appointed to conduct the same,—Adam Simon Knhn, Ludowic Stone, Geo Gibson, Isaac Mitchell, John Hart, Valentine Crook, Michael Gross and Robt Thompson. They are to give bond and be under oath

(133)

or affirmation for faithful performance of their duty. The tickets to be sold by the managers in Lancaster."

This advertisement is repeated in the issue of June 20, 1751. And in it the drawing was postponed to August 9.

In the issue of August 22, it is stated that "Such persons as have had any of the Lancaster Lottery tickets to dispose of signed by John Hart are desired to send them to the undersigned, Adam Simon Kuhn, Robert Thompson or Isaac Whitlock, otherwise the managers must look upon them as kept at their own chance." The public are advised that the prizes shall be published immediately and paid on demand.

In the issue of September 15 the prizes and the winners are set out in a great maze of figures.

Note: From the above it appears that the sales were \$800; of which \$100 went toward the fire apparatus and \$700 for prizes.

In the issue of June 20, there is the interesting local advertisement concerning George Gibson's tavern:

"To be sold by the subscriber in the boro of Lancaster, the house and lot he now lives on. It has been a tavern several years, being well provided with stables and other conveniences for that business. Also another house and lot adjoining the former, very fit for a shop keeper or tradesman. Any person inclining to purchase may apply to the subscriber living on the same.

GEORGE GIBSON."

An early counterfeiting case in the local courts and the severe penalty for the same are set out in the issue of October 17, 1751, as follows:

"At a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Lancaster, a father and son named Sigismund Hainly were tried for counterfeiting the half crown and nine penny bills of the Province, found guilty and received sentence of death.

"The following is the substance of the confession of the father, which he made to several gentlemen in the jail after he received sentence. That when he was last in Germany he applied to a person in Hambleburg to engrave plates for printing the half crown and nine penny bills; that the person applied to was a printer who accordingly printed and signed about twenty pounds of them; and delivered them to him. That he brought them over with him and uttered about six pounds of them. That when they were discovered to be bad he put the rest into an oven and consumed them. That no one else conspired with him, or was concerned with him. That the plates were destroyed. That his son was innocent."

1752.

In the issue of April 12 of this year appears the following great feat of Ephraim Moore.

"Lancaster, the latter end of last month Mr. Ephraim Moore, a farmer of Donegal Township one hundred and four years old, at a wedding there of two hundred guests, in the presence of all, danced a Fancy to perfection and moved a minuet."

Reading and Lancaster. An article in the issue of July 2 states that the houses in Reading have just been counted last week and there were found to be 208 all built since the beginning of June, 1750.

We remember that Marshe in his diary in 1744 stated that Lancaster began being built 16 years earlier or 1728, or 22 years earlier than Reading. And in 1752 according to 5 Haz. Reg. 299, Lancaster Town, had 311 taxables. Gov. Pownall wrote that in 1754 when he visited Lancaster it had 500 houses, 2,000 people (Rupp 306).

In the issue of November 9, this years appears a news item stating that at Lancaster at a Court of Oyer and Terminer on the 26th of October Hamilton Carson was convicted of burglary and received sentence of death; and James McConnel and Esther his wife convicted of being accessories after the fact to the burglary committed by John Webster, were both burned in the hand.

1753.

The issue of May 17, 1753, contains an account of the burning of several houses in and near Lancaster growing out of the dangerous practice of burning off the woods in order to clear the land. The fire frequently spread and became unmanageable. Houses in Berks County were also so destroyed.

In the same issue there is an account of the run away of a Dutch servant of Daniel Lefever of Lampeter Township, eighteen years of age, who took with him two hats, a brown linsey woolsey and a light brown underjacket, an old leather breeches, two coarse shirts, a pair of coarse trowsers, white woolen stockings, two pairs of shoes, etc.

1754.

The issue of February 19, of this year contains an account of the gathering of the French and Indians from the Ohio to Logs Town, near which they have built a large town and fort and are making other preparations for the reception of the French troops which they gave out are to follow in the spring. The article goes on to state that a large number of French and Indians are coming up the Mississippi also; and that the Chippeways, Ontarios and Adirondacks are also to take up the hatchet against the English. This item caused consternation in Carlisle, Lancaster, etc.

The issue of March 5 contains the following:

"To be sold by Isaac Whitlock and Thos. Poultney the following houses in Lancaster:

"Four houses and lots on Orange Street—one a commodious brick house and the other three square log houses—also two small lots and log houses—one on Prince Street, a large frame house and back kitchen—also a property with a large carpenter shop built of square logs and with a small orchard on the premises—another on Prince Street, the lot 64 by 100 feet in size, with good frame house—one on King Street, lot being 32 by 120 feet—one on Water Street with a good log house and two frame houses—lot on Water street with six houses and a good tan yard and a stone house also on it—also ten acres of land in the Boro—also about half a mile from the Court House bounded on the great road leading from Lancaster to Conestoga Creek, a tract of 40 perches all under good fence.

"Thos. Poultney at his shop on King Street, near the Court House at the sign of the 'Hand Saw' has a fine variety of iron mongery and furniture suitable for desks, drawers, etc., etc."

1755.

The issue of May 15 contains the following item: "We hear from the counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland, that notice being given there that wagons and carriage horses were wanting for the use of the army great numbers were immediately offered, and one hundred and fifty wagons laden with oats, Indian corn and other forage were dispatched to the camp in a few days, and as many more might have been had if wanted, the people offering with great readiness and cheerfulness from a zeal for his majesty's service."

We beg to note here as a historical fact that, during the reign of George II, the love of the colonies and especially of Pennsylvania, for the mother country, or rather particularly for the King, was very strong. The ancient newspapers of Philadelphia contain many items and accounts of public events in this province in which great zeal and loyalty were shown for and toward the King. The King's birthday especially was always a day of great rejoicing festivities, toasts, parades, etc., etc.

In the same issue, last mentioned, there appears this item showing something of the improvement of the mails and of the means of travel, locally as well as generally, as follows:

"The new post between Philadelphia and Winchester in Virginia set out from the post office in Philadelphia this morning to continue his weekly stages setting out every Thursday morning during the summer. Letters for Lancaster, York or Cumberland Counties, and for the back parts of Virginia or for the army should be brought to the office before nine o'clock on Thursday mornings."

Also the following appears: "A tract of land for sale in West Town in Chester County, on the Great Conestoga Road,—By John Taylor."

In the issue of May 22, there appears an item showing that men of our locality were prominent in the ways and means of financing the French and Indian Wars. It is there stated: "Isaac Norris, Evan Morgan, Jos Fox, James Pendleton, James Wright, Joseph Armstrong and John Smith are appointed by the Assembly, a committee to borrow five thousand pounds to purchase victuals for the King's troops, on their arrival."

In the issue of May 29, it is stated "A Great number of wagons with forage are gone from Lancaster County to Wills Creek, for the army."

And closely connected with this item is the following in the same issue: "We hear from Wills Creek that his Excellency, General Braddock and all of his forces were arrived there; and that Scarroyody had likewise got to camp with a number of Indians."

In the issue of June 5, it is stated: "We hear from Wills Creek that the wagons and horses lately contracted for in the county of Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties were safely arrived at the camp and gave great satisfaction to the General and the other officers, being for the most part by far the best of any that have been engaged in the service of the army since their arrival. We likewise hear that there are fine bottoms for several miles around the camp on which there is a great deal of good grass and other food for the horses."

In the same issue appears the following: "In Chester County a man was sentenced after trial by jury for speaking sedition and saying the King ought to have his head cut off. The sentence was, that he stand one hour in the pillory on Thursday and one hour the following Tuesday and wear on his back 'I stand here for speaking sedition against the best of Kings.'"

The issue of June 12 contains more news of provisioning the army, as follows: "Near sixty wagons laden with forage for the army have been dispatched from Philadelphia County to Wills Creek. The inhabitants of most of the townships of the county cheerfully gave comfortable bounties to the wagoners to encourage them to undertake the journey. Also a number of wagons laden with forage have gone from Lancaster and Berks Counties."

Rupp, p. 129, sets forth an extract of a letter written by John Slaymaker, Esq., in which the writer says that his father was in Braddock's campaign as a wagoner, that he drew a cannon into battle line with eleven horses, and they were all shot, etc." He also says (p. 242) that John Jacob Eichholtz was a wagon master.

The issue of July 24 contains the account of the defeat of General Braddock,—the number of horses shot under him—Washington's gallant conduct—the wounding of Captain Ross and an account of the loss, to wit, about 600 men killed and wounded.

Rupp, p. 307, mentions the fact that Colonel Dunbar, an officer under Braddock, stopped in Lancaster with his troops on his way to Philadelphia, after the disaster in Great Meadows; and that some of our county's citizens made complain to Assembly that Dunbar's troops put a number of cattle and horses into their meadows and destroyed the grass; and they demanded that the province pay them for it. We can hardly conceive that any of our citizens would deny pasturage and other conveniences and necessary food to those who were fighting to defend them from the French and Indians even at the very time that fear and terror were beginning to arise here because of the rumors that the Indians were coming eastward and were slaughtering the defenseless. But citizens whose whole lives are so selfish that they never consider the general welfare at all existed to a certain extent in those days, and we cannot boast that in our enlightened days they have been exterminated.

These items detailing the zeal with which our early patriots furnished wagons, etc., for the purpose of fighting the French and Indian Wars are of more than passing importance; all these noble acts were steps in the making of America. We owe it to the noble struggles of our forefathers in these days of 1755, that our country was able to grow westward to the Pacific. It was not a struggle for space or room, in 1755, between the French and the English, but for the ultimate control of the continent, which at that time seemed so vast to them that a thousand years would hardly overpopulate it. They looked far into the future.

In the issue of August 21, it is stated that "What seems most remarkable is that all the wagoners from Lancaster and York Counties in this province who engaged in the service of the army have returned safe but two; one of which died by sickness."

The issue of September 4 contains accounts of the desertions from the returning troops, of many of their number. And in the issue of September 11

there is a proclamation by the governor setting forth the names of those who deserted Colonel Dunbar's forces, stating the companies and regiments from which the desertions took place, and commanding all persons to assist in their apprehension.

In the issue of October 30 the early military activities of Washington are set forth and favorably commented upon.

In the same issue the effects of the defeat of Braddock, and of exaggerated stories of Indian atrocities, and of their marching toward the east under the leadership of the French are shown in the following extract of a letter from Lancaster, written presumably to the *Gazette*:

"As I imagine you have been alarmed before this time with a great deal of bad news from these parts, I think it my duty to give you as much light into the affairs as I can. About the 20th news was brought that the French and Indians had actually massacred and scalped a number of our inhabitants not more than 40 miles from Harris Ferry. It is reasonable to think the receipt of such news must put the inhabitants in the utmost confusion. About 45 of the stoutest of them got themselves mounted and in readiness the next day to go and bury the dead. They marched to the place accordingly and found no less than 14 bodies most shockingly mangled. Whilst they were in this place, some friendly Indians who were flying to the inhabitants for protection told them that there was a large body of French and Indians actually on their march to the inhabited parts of the Province and were already on this side of the Allegheny Mountains. Upon this, they concluded to go as far as Shamokin, to know whether the Indians assembled there were friends or enemies, for our people suspected these Indians to have knowledge of the murders. They desired to get further intelligence about those they heard were advancing against us. The Indians at Shamokin treated them civilly but had several councils and much whispering among themselves, which made our men suspicious of them, especially as some of them were missing soon afterwards. However in the morning Andrew Montour and Delaware George advised them to avoid going by a particular road, in which they said there was danger; but our men suspecting their sincerity, went their own way which was the very one they were cautioned to avoid, and were fired on by a party of Indians, about 40 in number some of whom they believed were with them the night before. Our men returned the fire in the best manner they could. One of them dropped off when the enemy first began, and escaped, but it is feared he is the only one to escape alive out of the whole. This news soon spread about the country and we were in the utmost confusion till yesterday we were told, there were fifteen more of our men returned. They all agree that it was the Delaware Indians that did the mischief. Our Court House Bell has been ringing most ever since to call the inhabitants to some consultation for safety. We hear there are about one hundred men already gone up to Harris Ferry, out of Donegal and places adjacent."

In another letter in the same issue it is stated that "The women and children in the back parts of Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks Counties are all come or coming to the townships that are thick settled and some of them are come to this city (Lancaster). In short the distress and confusion of our people in general on the frontier are inexpressible."

In the issue of November 6, an item dated Lancaster states that "We have great numbers from Lancaster and York Counties coming in every day for our assistance." And another item in the same issue states: "We have advices from Chester, Lancaster, York and Berks Counties that the inhabitants are daily assembling in great numbers in order to go to the assistance of the places most in danger."

These disquieting rumors spread to Maryland also. In the issue of November 20 there is printed part of a letter from Cecil County stating that "At daybreak the third instant messengers arrived here from New Castle County confirming the express sent in the night before, giving dismal accounts of how fifteen hundred French and Indians had burnt Lancaster town to the ground and were proceeding downwards driving all before them, so that the inhabitants were in great distress. Upon this intelligence the officers immediately warned the militia, who convened three companies and a troop of horse and bravely resolved to march against the enemy, and on Tuesday they set out commanded by proper officers and attended with wagons carrying provisions, blankets and other necessaries, being better provided with arms and ammunitions, than could have been expected on so short notice. On Wednesday they assembled at the head of Elk River impatiently awaiting for the arrival of our other forces from the Susquehanna side, and orders to proceed. The like spirit raised the forces and Kent and Chesapeake, who began to march toward the head of Elk River on Thursday. But in the afternoon they were all remanded on the certain intelligence that the reports concerning Lancaster were all false. However they remained in readiness on account of the frequent expresses sent them from Baltimore, importing that the enemy had directed their route down the western side of the Susquehanna. But messengers being sent over the Bay being assured that this was not true, and no enemy in sight, the men were all discharged on Saturday evening. The number going from the two counties was about one thousand and many more were resolved to follow them; and five hundred more were intending to join them from Queen Anne's County. These forces marching from Maryland, with those marching from the three Lower Counties on Delaware, joined to those of Chester, Lancaster and Philadelphia by this time, might have formed an army of several thousand men in high spirits sufficient to repel any force that the French and Indians could raise against us. Hence it is evidence that British courage is no more degenerated in the Southern than in the Northern Colonies."

Here it is worthy to note that this and our neighbor counties north and west, in the lap on Southern Susquehanna Valley, escaped the ravages of the French and Indian, the Revolutionary and the Civil Wars, which in all instances raged all about us, York County in fact having a light touch of the Civil War. We should feel Providentially spared; and Providentially obligated to patriotic duty.

1756.

In the issue of February 5 appears an announcement of Robert Leake, Commissary General of Store and Provisions, in America as follows:

LANCASTER, February 2, 1756.

"Notice is hereby given to all persons concerned that I intend to begin at Lancaster, in Penna., by the 20th instant to pay off all such debts as shall appear just and well vouched, relating to provisions, carriage of the same by land and water, pack-horses, etc., that were contracted for by the late brave General Braddock or his order, likewise all the warranted officers belonging to the provision branch. And as I am credibly informed that many of the poor waggoners and those that had horses employed in the late expedition, have been severely persecuted by unmerciful criticism and evil disposed persons, and compelled to part with what may be due them for less than half the value, I therefore desire such persons as have been ill used by such vultures to appear personally. I appeal to yourselves concerning my conduct towards you and hope that wherever the service requires it that all of you will readily assist.

"I am your sincere friend ROBERT LEAKE, etc."

In the issue of March 11, it is stated in an item dated at Philadelphia that "Yesterday Col. Washington arrived here from the northward." This item is noted, because all the itineraries of Washington are important; and it might be possible that on his journey from the "northward" he may have passed through Lancaster. If, however, the "northward" means the Easton region, then his course would not have been in our neighborhood. But if he came from the northwest, then the principal and almost the only route was through Lancaster.

In the issue of March 23, there is a list of the officers who have received commissions from the governor under the Militia Law. To show Lancaster's relative importance, the numbers contributed from the several counties are now given.

Philadelphia Town	8 captains,	8 lieutenants,	8 ensigns.
Philadelphia County	10 captains,	9 lieutenants,	9 ensigns.
Bucks County	3 captains,	8 lieutenants,	3 ensigns.
Chester County	8 captains,	8 lieutenants,	8 ensigns.
Cumberland County	6 captains,	6 lieutenants,	6 ensigns.
York County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Berks County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Northampton County	2 captains,	2 lieutenants,	2 ensigns.
Lancaster County	10 captains,	10 lieutenants,	10 ensigns.

The Lancaster County Captains were: Lebanon Township, George Reynolds; Bethel Township, Henry Waggoner; Earl Township, Thomas Kittera, Robert Whitehill and John Edwards (three companies); West End Hanover, Thos. Robinson; Earl and Leacock, John Long; Caernarvon, Wm. Douglass; Salisbury, John Hopkins, and Lancaster Boro, Philip Lynheer.

The Lieutenants were: Lebanon Township, Samuel Allen; Bethel Township, Abraham Hubley; Earl Township, Alexander Martin, Baltus Healy; West End Hanover, Benj. Wallace; Earl and Leacock, Robt. Long; Caernarvon, Myrick Davis; Salisbury, Isaac Richardson, and Lancaster Boro, Frederick Stone.

The Ensigns were: Lebanon Township, Christopher Zimmer; Bethel, _____; Earl Township, Moses McIlvaine, Thomas David and Jacob Manny; West End Hanover, _____; Earl and Leacock, Robert Smith; Caernarvon, Edward Davis; Salisbury, John Douglass, and Lancaster Boro, John Wood.

These may be noted somewhere in the Pennsylvania Archives but I cannot find them. From the fact that they are hard to find even if published, I think they may with profit be printed in our proceedings. We recognize several names among them that later became prominent.

Thomas Kittera may have been a relative of John W. Kittera, the first congressman of our county, whose body lies in the First Presbyterian Church yard, immediately east of the Church, under the chapel.

The issue of April 15 contains a list of letters uncalled for in the post office at Lancaster. There are about seventy in all. All the names are Scotch-Irish or English. There are no German names among them. This fact seems to attest the fact that Scotch-Irish and English were on the move, while the Germans remained in their original settlements.

The issue of July 8, contains an advertisement stating that Adam Aker makes all kinds of Dutch Fans for cleaning wheat, rye and other grains. That it will take cockle, etc., out and clean two hundred bushels per day. This is a Philadelphia advertisement. The inquiry suggests itself why our forefathers locally were laboriously winnowing their grains by much cruder methods, when so advanced a grain fan was invented. Old men living in our childhood have often told us their youthful experiences, tediously cleaning grain by tossing it into the air.

The issue of July 29th quotes the governor's message that Colonel Washington has returned to Philadelphia from Fort Cumberland bringing an account of the Indian activities at that place. It will be interesting to know whether this journey led Washington and his troops through Lancaster.

1757.

The issue of January 6 contains an extract from a letter written at Lancaster, upon the Indian activities as viewed from Lancaster, as follows:

"Monday last I left the mouth of Conecocheg where the Express arrived from Fort Cumberland, with an account that eight Catawbias and five white men had been to the mouth of Chartier's Creek about a mile from Fort Du Quesne where they attacked an Indian cabin. Near the Fort they fell in with one hundred Shawanese and Delawares with whom they engaged for some time; but were obliged to run. At Conecocheg the Indians killed a man near Fort Frederick and a Dutchman and his wife. A great lot of the enemy are at Rays Town, etc."

In the issue of April 21 there is an item stating that news from Lancaster is to the effect that 123 Catawba Indians are marching for Fort Cumberland and among them was King Highler, who swore revenge on the French for the death of his son.

The issue of May 12 states that on "Sunday last his honor the Governor set out for Lancaster accompanied by some of the gentlemen of his council and assembly."

The governor went to Lancaster to meet the Indians in treaty. As early as April 7, the Indians began to gather in the Borough. Mr. Shippen, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Boude and Captain Cane with a number of the inhabitants met the Indians some miles from the town (Vol. 7, Col. Rec., 510). The Governor reached Lancaster on or before May 11, for on that day he met the Indians there (Do. 517). Therefore his journey did not take very long. With good horses and it must be supposed a fair road from Philadelphia, he likely made the journey in a day or two. On the 12th they met in the Court House. Six members of the Council and six members of the Assembly together with the Speaker were with him (Do. 518). A snapshot of that gathering would be very interesting and instructive at this date.

In the issue of May 19 there is an extract from a Lancaster letter, regarding an expedition of Indians from Conecochegig to Rays Town.

In the issue of May 26 there is an account as follows: "We have received advice from Lancaster that on the 17th five men and a woman were killed and scalped by the Indians about 30 miles from that place and that the bodies of three of the men had been brought down there by some of the neighbors. It is also stated that an Express arrived in Lancaster with the news that seven people were killed in a house near there by the Indians; that the people are again in great distress. Murders have been committed of late in Hanover—Bethel—Lebanon and Paxtang all in Lancaster County."

The issue of June 9 contains an item concerning the movement of munitions through Lancaster as follows: "We hear from Lancaster that nine wagon loads of ammunition arrived there on the third from Winchester in Virginia for the use of his majesty's forces at Carlisle."

In the issue of July 7 there is a report from the commission for the investigation of Indian outrages, which was appointed by the governor and sat and held hearings at Lancaster, dated May 18, 1757. The commissioners, Wm. Masters, John Boynton and James Galloway, among other things state that they have considered a letter or complaint from the citizens of Hanover containing an account of the murders committed by the Indians and of the imminent danger of the people. They find the people in danger and request that the governor as the head of the military power and forces, raise a larger number of men for defense, which power the said commissioners do not have. They call the governor's attention to the fact that the Assembly have voted a sum of money for the defense of the Province; and have appointed commissioners to dispose of it. But they say unless the military force of the province is better regulated and the officers employed therein discharge their duty with more punctuality and energy than they have done hitherto, little advantage can be gotten from the money granted by the people's Assembly, and the people will continue to have no assistance. It is with great concern they say "how little benefit the provincial troops are in protecting the people. From numerous instances it is plain that the enemy come in between our forts, destroy the inhabitants within sight of them, and return unmolested while our men remain inactive in garrison and of little service. These reasons induce us to recommend to the governor as the most effectual method of helping Hanover inhabitants to give order that a number of scouting parties constantly range the borders; otherwise the intention of this legislation will be frustrated." Signed by the commission.

In the same issue there is a public call dated Lancaster for the necessity of three companies of Colonel Weiser's regiment to march to Fort Augusta.

There is also in the same issue an item stating that several murdered Indians were at this time brought to Lancaster and exposed in the Streets to be viewed by the people.

In the issue of October 6 the election returns for Lancaster County are given; but not the number of votes cast or received by the various candidates. Those elected to Assembly are James Wright, James Webb, Emanuel Carpenter and Isaac Saunders. For sheriff Jos. Pugh and Wm. Smith. For Coroner Mathias Slough and Benj. Price. The governor selected the sheriff and coroner from two candidates in each case returned by the people. These election returns are found in this paper annually. They may also be found in the Votes of Assembly and Colonial Records. Thus I have not made regular note of them.

I may turn to a Chester County political item in the issue of December 1, in which a justice of the peace urges the governor to redress his grievance, to wit, that the Assembly has used him ill for saying that they should stop quarreling in their sessions and do something for the people, and especially protect the people from the Indians.

1758.

In the issue of January 12 of this year the following list of names and addresses as throwing some light on the locations or supposed locations of certain citizens in 1758: Thos. Butler, Lancaster; Archee Brownlee, George Black, Little Britain; Thos. Brown, Chestnut Level; James Cummins, Lancaster County; Rev. John Cuthbertson, Octoraro; James Duncan, Lancaster County; John Edwards (do.); John Cordon (do.); Thos. Jacobs, Chestnut Level; Garrett Cavanaugh, Lancaster County; James Karr, Donegal; Wm. Moore, Lancaster County; James McDonel, Chestnut Level; John Middleton, Donegal; James McCormick, Lancaster Road; Wm. M. Nein, Susquehanna; John Naylor, Susquehanna; Isaac Richardson, Pequea; Wm. Reed, Little Britain; Wm. Read, Chestnut Level; John Stephenson, Donegal; Robt. Steele, Chestnut Level; Thos. Thornbury, Lancaster, and Thos. Whiteside, Lancaster.

Some of these persons became prominent in later years, or at least persons of the same name, such as the Middletons, Cuthbertsons, Duncans and others.

In the issue of February 23, there is a sheriff sale item fixing the location of one of the Indian Towns. In it Joseph Pugh, sheriff, gives notice under date of February 14, 1758, that by virtue of a writ to him directed he will sell a plantation in Donegal Township, fronting on the Susquehanna River containing 310 acres, of good land well timbered. It recites that one "part of it formerly having been an Indian Town." There is erected on it a good stone house two stories high, a good barn and stables and other conveniences. Taken as the property of James Lowry deceased at the suit of Andrew Bogg.

I beg to note in passing that the news of the fall of Lewisburg to the English, and of the defeat of the French, caused public rejoicing throughout the Province, and no doubt locally as well as in Philadelphia. But in Philadelphia great and brilliant demonstrations were held, in the way of illumination, rockets and mechanically illuminated effects, etc., etc. The issue of

September 7 has columns upon the subject; and any one will be repaid by reading them.

1759.

The issue of March 22 of this year contains the order of Colonel Bouquet, Colonel of Foot in America, that all soldiers in the first and second battalions of Pennsylvania Regiment who are on furlough shall repair to Lancaster, Reading and Carlisle, where officers will be ordered to receive them in order to receive their pay. Signed Jos. Shippen, Brigade Major.

The issue of May 24 contains a notice by General Stanwix, commanding his Majesty's Forces in the southern provinces of America, that wagons will be wanted for His Majesty's service and to secure the same and to avoid severe measures the following advantageous offer is made. The number of wagons from each county is as follows:

Philadelphia County	80	Northampton County	30
Chester County	60	York County	50
Bucks County	64	Cumberland County	30
Berks County	60	Lancaster County	200

Each wagon to load at the "Grand Magazine," Carlisle, and for every hundred weight carried from thence to Pittsburgh (formerly Fort DuQuesne) to receive 45 shillings and 6 pence. Provender and horses to be furnished by the owners. The drivers to be furnished with provisions at the King's Troops.

The wagons shall be appraised and if taken or destroyed be paid for. Escorts of soldiers will be provided. The counties of York, Lancaster and Cumberland and Berks to be paid at Lancaster and those of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks and Northampton to be paid for at Philadelphia.

The wagons from Lancaster to be at Carlisle the 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of June. Each wagon to be fitted with four good strong horses properly harnessed. The wagons to be complete in everything, to be large and strong, with a drag chain eleven feet in length, with a hook at each end, a knife (scythe) for cutting grass, a falling ax and shovel and two sets of clouts, five sets mauls; an iron hoop on end of each axle tree, a line mangle, a two-gallon keg of tar and oil mixed together, slip bell, hobbles (hobbles), two sets shoes, four sets shoe nails for each horse, eight sets spare hames, five sets hame strings, a bag to receive their provisions, a spare set of linch pins, and a hand screw (hoist-jack) for every three wagons. The drivers must be able-bodied men, capable of loading and unloading and assisting each other.

In the issue of June 14 Gen. Stanwix announces to those who are to enter carriages into his Majesty's service that the following persons are the appraisers of the value of the wagons, etc.: for Lancaster County, Edward Shippen; Berks County, Conrad Weiser, and Chester County, Roger Hunt.

In the same issue John Hughs gives notice that as Gen. Stanwix appointed Colonel Bouquet to contract with the inhabitants for a number of wagons to carry provisions and forage to Fort Bedford, and Bouquet has empowered said Hughs for certain of the counties and has given him money to pay for the wagons, that advances of 4 pounds will be made to each wagon. It is also

stated that the wagons to be loaded at Lancaster, or at any of the mills, will have ferriage of the Susquehanna paid for them.

Under date and issue of June 28 it is stated that whereas a number of the King's horses were lost marked with a "G. R.," with horse shoes and other marks and wagon horses branded "G. R.," they being lost in the confusion of the year and charged in the account of the King and the same were afterwards found and returned to the owners such persons as have the same shall deliver them forthwith at Lancaster, York, Carlisle, Fort Loudon or Bedford to be used in the employ of His Majesty, who has employed the same and advanced moneys thereon, for the present expedition. Those who shall return the same shall receive 55 shillings for the return of each horse; but if any person keep such horses after this notice they shall be punished as horse stealers. Edward Shippen will receive such horses at Lancaster.

Note: It will be seen here that either by design, bad management or by accident, some of the horses after having been started on the journey were lost, and were found by certain persons and taken back to the owners after the public authorities had hired them and paid advance money on the contract. The penalty for horse stealers was or recently had been capital.

In the issue of August 30 it is stated that the Braddock road which was ordered to be opened is almost finished to Pittsburgh. A large convoy of 30,000 weight of flour, 240 bullocks and 200 sheep, it is stated, arrived there. General Stanwix with the rear of the army set out from Bedford for Pittsburgh, Monday last.

In the issue of October 4 Ludwig Bierly and Jerome Kunselman give notice that those gentlemen who have been receiving their papers by the Lancaster post and who are in arrear must leave their respective balances due to these carriers, with the several landlords where they receive their papers or they will not be served any longer.

In the issue of October 11 appears the names of those elected to the Assembly for Lancaster County: James Wright, Emanuel Carpenter, Isaac Saunders and James Webb. Those returned for sheriff were Wm. Smith and Zach. Davis. Those for coroner, Mathias Slough and Saml. Boude.

The same issue states that for about a month the army has been employed in making a most formidable fortification such as will protect the "British Empire on the Ohio."

In the issue of November 1 appears a stage advertisement concerning the four-horse stage to New York; and it contains a cut or picture of the stage wagon with a covered top in the shape of the Conestoga Wagon. I insert this to show that at this date the style of wagon known as the Conestoga Wagon was in use, whether or not the name was employed then or not until a later time.

1760.

In the issue of January 10 of this year there is an article headed: "Help! Help! Help!" which goes on to say that wood is 3 pounds and 10 shillings a cord, a price never before heard of. It also states that people steal it from the back yards, etc.

The issue of February 7 contains great and enthusiastic articles upon the joy and jollification over the fall of Quebec.

The issue of March 13 gives notice that "All the members of the Lancaster Library Company are desired to meet on Thursday, the 27th inst., precisely at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the house of Mr. Mathias Slough to subscribe their articles and transact other business necessarily requiring their attendance. By Order of the Committee of Directors.

SAMUEL MCGAW, *Librarian*.

In the issue of April 10 it is announced that there is just published at nine pence "A Letter From A Tradesman in Lancaster to the Merchants of Philadelphia respecting the loan of money to the government, with some remarks on the consequences of refusal." This letter is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is No. Api. 393 Gilpin.

The issue of May 15 states that on Thursday, May 1, at the public Commencement of the College of the City (Philadelphia) the degree of B.A. was conferred on Thomas Mifflin, Patrick Allison et al. And also the same degree on Rev. Thos. Barton, of Lancaster (Honorary) and Rev. Samson Smith, of Chestnut Level (Honorary). Also the same on Rev. James Latta and Rev. Jacob Duche.

In the issue of May 22, the estate notice in the estate of Thomas Musgrove fixes his late residence in Lampeter Township.

In the issue of May 29, General Stanwix announces that a certain number of wagons are necessary to take provisions to Pittsburgh from Lancaster, Carlisle; and that such as are willing to furnish the same shall have the following pay: From Philadelphia to Lancaster, 3 shillings and 6 pence per hundred weight—Lancaster to Carlisle 4 shillings—Carlisle to Bedford 17 shillings and 6 pence—Bedford to Ligonier (50 mi) 15 shillings, besides 11 bushels of oats and provisions for drivers. Ferriage over Susquehanna will be paid. Wagons and horses destroyed will be paid for; and one wagon master will be appointed for every 25 wagons. Payment will be made on return, at Carlisle or York. Signed

WM PLUMSTEAD }
DAVID FRANKS } *Contractors for the Crown.*

In the same issue Jerome Heinselman begs those living on the Lancaster and Philadelphia Road, and on the "back way" to Octoraro and Donegal and points beyond the Susquehanna to make payment for carriage of their papers for the years 1758 and 1759.

In the issue of June 5 there is a notice of a stray from Geo. and James Reid of "Martix" Township.

In the issue of July 10 the King's contractors for horses and wagons warns those who take goods from Philadelphia to Lancaster and Carlisle that their custom of stopping at their homes along the road is a great detriment to the service and that the payment promised them in the advertisements will be "stopt" unless they proceed continuously to the delivery of the goods to their destination.

The issue of July 24 states that Four Companies of Royal Americans marched from Pittsburg to Presque Isle under Colonel Bouquet; and that 3 companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment, Captains Clapham, Biddle and Anderson, would follow. Also two days later they will be followed by two more

Pennsylvania Companies under Captain Atlee and Captain Mills. Their destination is to be Detroit beyond Presque Isle.

In the issue of August 28 it is stated that Captains Ross, Compland, Smith and Brinnington are arrived at St. Christophers.

In the issue of September 11 Thomas Harris advertises 800 acres of land in Donegal for sale. It is well watered and timbered and in a full settled part of Lancaster County. One hundred acres cleared, and 30 in good meadow all well watered by a stream that may be directed to all parts. Improved by a convenient square log dwelling house, a young orchard, a double barn. Also a good stone house 40 feet long and 28 feet wide containing 4 rooms on each floor and a cellar and a good double barn and fine apple and cherry trees. It has a good overshot grist mill with two pairs of stones, three bolting cloths and hoisting gears, all going by water. The same is supplied by a plentiful stream of water, constant throughout the year, capable of turning out twenty barrels of flour every twenty-four hours, with proper attendance or upwards of seven thousand barrels a year. Also a good saw mill, distilling house, cooper shop and storehouse lying in a fine part of the country for the purchasing of wheat and other grains. The subscriber lives on the premises and will give title thereto. Signed Thomas Harris.

This item gives an adequate and a surprising picture of the advanced condition of that section of the country at the early date of 1760; and will aid, I hope, in preventing us from getting the notion that the country up to the Revolutionary War and afterwards, was very primitive.

In the issue of October 9 appears the Lancaster County election return: Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, Isaac Saunders, Jacob Webb and James Wright. Sheriff, Wm. Smith and John Hay. Coroner, Mathias Slough and Robert Fulton.

This was Robert Fulton's father. He died about 1768; and it is well known that he was more than ordinarily active in public affairs.

In the issue of October 16 there is an advertisement announcing that Francis Rawle, the subscriber, attorney for the Trustees that the trustees will sell the Pennsylvania Company's lands, as by Act of Parliament they are empowered to do, at public sale. This land consisted of many tracts in Philadelphia; and parcels also in Bucks, Lancaster, Berks Counties and in New Jersey. The sales were to be held in April and May, 1761.

In the issue of October 30, Robert Monckton, Brigadier General, etc., of His Majesty's forces, gives notice to all who have demands for carriage of provisions or stores to the western army since the commencement of the campaign to bring their certificates of delivery. Those of Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties will be paid by Adam Hoopes, etc.

The same issue contains an item showing how members of families were liable to be separated and pass out of the knowledge of one another. Notice is given that "Whereas Rudolph Miller and Barbara Miller came over from Switzerland to the Province with their father Jacob Miller, since deceased, and their sister Regina; and the said Rudolph and Barbara were then bound out apprentices; and the said Regina has never since heard of her brother and sister, she therefore desires them if they hear of this advertisement to direct a letter to her or to her husband, Daniel Kahn, living at Conestoga Ferry near Lancaster."

In the issue of November 6 is the notice that the Right Honorable General Monckton arrived by way of Lancaster from Pittsburg in Philadelphia. He was attending to the paying for the wagons and supplies furnished by the people of Pennsylvania, etc., for the western campaign, to make safe the "British Empire on the Ohio."

In the issue of November 27 there is an item relating to Reading, but also of local interest because of the similarity of the towns in many ways. It is stated that "Whereas in June, 1759, a wagoner who lives near Reading acquainted the subscriber that he had about Christmas before lost several bars of steel on the road between Reading and Philadelphia and the same being advertised in the *Dutch News* was procured by the subscriber for the owner, who has not since been heard of; notice is now given that the steel will be sold to defray the charges. Signed Geo Alentz."

One is not inclined to think that the manufacture of steel began so long ago. We think of those days as the iron age rather than the steel age.

In the issue of December 11 the tracts of the Pennsylvania Land Company's holdings are set out. There are 15 of them all told, and among them "League Island"—also 2,500 Acres in Lampeter and Manheim Townships in our County—also 1,874 acres in Strasburg Township, adjoining John and Isaac Ferree, Mathias Slaymaker and others. And in the issue of December 18 is set forth the Act of Parliament reciting the old deeds of lease and release of August 11 and 12, 1699, from William Penn to Tobias Collet et al, which is the original title deed of several thousand acres of land in our county.

Minutes of the October Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., October 3, 1919.

The Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting at the accustomed place, the President, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding. The minutes of September meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer reported a balance on hand of \$350.30. His report was adopted.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to acknowledge the donations in the usual manner.

A letter from the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Council of National Defense, requesting the Lancaster County Historical Society to furnish an account of the war activities of its members was read and, on motion, referred to the committee appointed at the February meeting, consisting of Messrs. A. K. Hostetter, H. Frank Eshleman and Miss Adeline B. Spindler.

On motion of Mrs. A. K. Hostetter a vote of thanks was extended to Hon. and Mrs. H. Burd Cassel for the hospitality shown the Lancaster County Historical Society at its outing held at Cassel's Park, September 20; also to Dr. Montgomery for his instructive address delivered at that time.

The historical paper of the evening was prepared and read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., his subject being "Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*."

The following persons were nominated for membership: Hon M. R. Hoffman, Maytown, Pa.; Mrs. M. R. Hoffman, Maytown, Pa.; Mrs. B. F. Hoffman, Bainbridge, Pa.; H. D. Malschnee, Manheim, Pa.; Ross Myers, 240 East King Street, Lancaster, Pa.

Librarian Harry Stehman reported that the several donations and exchanges received by the Historical Society during the past month were:

American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Nos. 4 and 5, 1919.

Western Reserve Historical Society's Annual Reports, 1919.

American Weekly Mercury, donated by Miss L. Evans, Columbia, Pa., through Miss Clark.

Portrait of Peter Shindel, also Flute and Cockade worn during his services in the Revolution.

Millersville Normal Monthly, September, 1873 to 1874, by Albert K. Hostetter.

The report of the Librarian was approved and the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to extend Society's thanks for the donations.

The following data, accompanying the Peter Shindel portrait, is of historical interest:

Tillie May Forney, daughter of John Wien and Elizabeth Matilda Reitzel Forney, and Philip Reitzel Shattuck, son of Mason A and Sarah Porter Shat-

tuck; being great-grandchildren of Peter Shindel, of Revolutionary repute, claim the privilege of presenting to "The Lancaster County Historical Society" the portrait, fife and cockade of their distinguished ancestor.

Peter Shindel, whose mortal remains lie in the Lancaster Cemetery, died in that city on February 9th, 1848. He was born April 29th, 1760.

Family history has it that the event occurred on a sailing vessel three days out from New York. His parents, after some six months of hazardous sea-travel, landing on new shores from their native Holland.

As a boy-fifer in July, 1776, Peter Shindel entered Revolutionary Service, under Captain Andrew Graff, of Colonel George Ross' Regiment. A little more than a year later, under Captain Stoevers, of Colonel Greenwalt's Regiment, he was promoted to Brigade Fife-Major.

At the memorable battles of Germantown and Brandywine he bore conspicuous and prominent parts, going out a third time under Captain William Wurts.

In 1778, while in Captain App's Company, he volunteered to convey the Hessian prisoners from Lancaster to Philadelphia, continuing this work; heroic, considering his tender age; until the termination of the war. He won the increasing approval and esteem of his commanding officers.

Peter Shindel rounded out his life of 88 years, mainly in Lancaster, holding the respect of his fellow-citizens as he had that of his military command.

His wife, Elizabeth, whose death preceded his by a little more than a year, was his faithful companion for 67 years.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOYALISTS IN THE REVOLUTION,
BY FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.
MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 9.

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LANCASTER, PA.

1919

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The Loyalists in the Revolution.

Second Paper.

BY FRANK R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.

Nowhere was there more timidity and indecision than in our own state. The very best men were to be found on both sides when the final rupture came. While Franklin may be regarded as the head and front of the Whig element, some of his warmest personal and political friends were Loyalists. For a long time, the cause in Pennsylvania was in great doubt. In addition to the fact that the ruling element of the population was almost exclusively British, the further fact that almost two thirds of the population were, from conscientious scruples, opposed to a resort to the arbitrament of arms for a solution of the existing troubles, is to be considered. The Quakers were men of peace and consequently Loyalists almost to a man, although of course there were some prominent exceptions. Joseph Galloway, an excellent witness, when examined by a committee of the House of Commons, declared that, had General Howe issued a proclamation when he entered Philadelphia, 3,500 men from Philadelphia and New Jersey would have rallied to his standards, and that more than fifty prominent gentlemen went to him and proffered their services in disarming the disaffected, but could not get even so much as an interview from him. Even John Dickinson did not seem to know his own mind. Between 1765 and 1775, he wrote much and ably as a Whig, but in 1776, he opposed the Declaration of Independence and was an uncompromising antagonist of the scheme of independence; and there were many more like him.

On October 16, 1775, while the Congress of the Colonies was sitting in Philadelphia, sluggish and irresolute, hardly knowing its own mind, the newly elected Legislature of Pennsylvania was organized. Chosen under a dread of independence, all of its members who were present subscribed the usual engagements of allegiance to the king. A few days later the Quakers presented an address in favor of "the most conciliatory measures," and deprecating everything "likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with the parent state."¹

Could any facts show more completely the prevailing diversity of public sentiment, or the chaotic condition of affairs generally?

It is a notable fact that in July, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania instructed Col. William Henry of Lancaster Borough to disarm all those citizens of this county who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the cause of the Colonies. Col. Henry was the father of that patriotic son of Lancaster, who ran away to Boston to join Arnold's expedition against Canada and who later became Judge of our County Court.

¹ Ban., Vol. 8, p. 119.

In Virginia, everything was doubt and uncertainty. As late as March 15, 1776, Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, wrote to Washington as follows: "It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the idea of independence, that they have sent Mr. Braxton on purpose to turn the vote of that colony, if any question on that subject should come before Congress." In reply, Washington wrote of the Virginians that "from their form of government and steady attachment heretofore to royalty, they will come reluctantly into the idea of independence." All this was within three months of the period when Congress actually pronounced the independence of the colonies.

In North Carolina, the two parties were pretty evenly divided. She was monarchially inclined from the beginning, and received large accessions to her native Loyalists from Scotland when the Stuarts were overthrown. Ignorance prevailed. According to Josiah Martin, her last royal governor, there were only two schools in the colony in 1775. Even the Whigs were unstable,—sometimes on the right side, and, when the King's troops came along, on his side. Thomas Jefferson, in his later years, directly accused William Hooper, a North Carolina delegate to Congress in 1776, of being a rank Tory. There are good reasons to doubt the truth of the accusation. That there were many men of the genuine stamp in the state, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, written a year before Jefferson's fully attests.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

No state perhaps was more torn by political dissensions than South Carolina. Many of her citizens were immigrants from various parts of Europe, and opposed independence. After Charleston was taken, the people flocked by hundreds to the royal banner. Sir Henry Clinton reported to his home government that the entire State had submitted to the English government and was again a part of the British Empire. It was owing to the gallantry of a few men like Marion, Pickens and Sumpter, that the Loyalists did not overrun the country. The fact is, the political condition of the State was deplorable. With the two sides so evenly divided, and the country overrun in turn by both the Whig and the Loyalist troops, the people were embittered by their sufferings and were led to commit all manner of outrages on each other. The rules and courtesies of civilized warfare were often ignored, and murder and rapine took the place of honorable warfare. General Green, a most competent witness, described the condition of things as follows: "The animosities between the Whigs and Tories render their situation truly deplorable. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months, as neither Whig nor Tory can live." That eminent jurist, John Marshall, says in his "Life of Washington" that "the people of the South felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war in its most savage form. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries had gradually sharpened their resentments against each other, and had armed neighbor against neighbor, until it had become a war of extermination. As the parties alternately triumphed, opportunities

were alternately given for the exercise of their vindictive passions." In conclusion, it can truthfully be stated that the Loyalists were in the ascendant in South Carolina until the close of the war. It also deserves to be mentioned that, when the British forces, under General Prevost, invested Charleston, there was a day's negotiation to adjust the terms of surrender, after which "the correspondence closed with the proposal on our part of neutrality to the town and state during the war, the peace to fix its ultimate condition."² This proposed action was a clear proposal to desert the cause of the colonies, with a probable return of the royal government.

In Georgia, the cause of independence was more favorably regarded, but it was far from being good. That colony sent no delegates to the first Continental Congress, but was represented in the second. It was at first found difficult to found a liberty party, although in the end Georgia sent 2,679 troops into the Continental service,—the smallest number contributed by any state, Delaware alone excepted. But her loyal governor, Sir James Wright, was an able man and raised a considerable force of Loyalists for the King's service, and many Whigs were compelled to seek refuge in the adjoining states.

On the whole, it may safely be said that the Loyalists were more numerous in the south, in Pennsylvania and New York, than in the New England colonies.

When we come to examine the attitude of the newspaper press at the outbreak of the war, we find that a very considerable portion was arrayed against independence. There were thirty-seven papers published in the colonies in 1775, of which seven or eight espoused the cause of the crown.

TREATMENT OF THE LOYALISTS.

As the contest proceeded and the Whigs got the upper hand, sterner measures were adopted. They were compelled to give up their arms, to take the oath of allegiance, to undergo imprisonment, to confinement in irons and to labor on the construction of barracks. Later, banishment was resorted to. Pennsylvania sent some of her Loyalists to Virginia and New York. New York transported some of her own to Pennsylvania, to New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts. The most dangerous were placed in jail after transportation, but others were allowed some privileges on parole. Generally, the treatment was all the circumstances would allow. Medical attendance was given the sick. Frequently their families were allowed to join them in their exile. Sometimes the starving were fed. But at times the treatment was more severe, varying often with the fortunes of the war.³

Later, trials for treason were ordered. Confiscations of property were begun, and the gallows was called upon to do its ignoble work. Agents were appointed to keep watch on suspected or open Loyalists, to ascertain their possessions and to report and suggest the course of action to be taken. The State of New York realized from confiscations of personal property nearly \$400,000—Spanish dollars. The total loss to the Loyalists was no doubt fully double; including all kinds of property, the amount was estimated at \$3,600,000.

² Lee's History of the War in the South.

³ Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 121-122.

One result followed this confiscation of lands that was beneficial to the State at large. The Patroons, the holders of vast landed estates, were nearly all Loyalists. When their lands were confiscated they were sold in small parcels. The land of James De Lancey was sold to 275 individuals, and the 50,000 acres of Roger Morris to 250 persons. All this served to weaken the feudal element which prevailed in that State, and unquestionably resulted beneficially to the general welfare.

Out of a population of 185,000 in the State of New York at the outbreak of the Revolution 90,000 were Loyalists. Of these 35,000 are believed to have left and 55,000 accepted the inevitable and remained, becoming valuable members of the young state.⁴

Complete separation only became the final issue early in 1776. When this new issue did come, the Loyalists denounced it as revolution and anarchy. Parties then divided on stricter lines. Every man had now to choose the master he would serve; whether he would remain a subject of Great Britain, or by declaring himself a citizen of the newly born nation become a traitor to the crown. There could be no middle ground. Those who tried to remain neutral received no consideration from either party. It was a forced issue. The Loyalists found their cause a hard one to accept. Most of them were Americans, as were the Whigs, and proud of it into the bargain. They felt the action of the crown as keenly as the latter and also desired justice and relief, but had hoped to secure both from the King and his ministers.

Town and district committees were appointed with authority to arrest and examine the disaffected persons and deal with them according to the degree of their disaffection. I will cite the result of the first examinations held in New York as a fair example of the views of the persons investigated everywhere.

The first person of prominence examined was Whitehead Hicks. He said he held crown offices and had sworn allegiance to the king, and hence would not take up arms against him. He was not willing to be taxed by Parliament, yet he had refused to sign the association. He believed arms should be used only as a last resort, and he was not prepared to say that all other measures had been exhausted. The committee decided that he was not friendly to the American cause and put him on parole.

William Axtell did not believe Parliament had a right to bind the Colonies in all cases, nor did he approve of the program of the opposition. He wished to remain neutral for the sake of his property, and objected to being paroled. He was turned over to the Provincial Congress.

Captain Archibald Hamilton said he loved America, that he had fought, bled, and been in irons for her, that he wished her free and happy, and would not draw his sword against her; neither would he unsheath it against his brothers on the King's side. He was dismissed on his parole of honor.

John Wildt denied the right of Parliament to levy internal taxes in America, but would not take up arms against the King. His other answers were so equivocal that he was released under a £2,000 bond. These are fair samples of the sentiments of the extreme type of Loyalists in 1776.⁵

⁴ Flick's *Loyalism in New York*, p. 159 and 182.

⁵ Flick's *Loyalism in New York*, 69-72-73.

The sentiment in favor of "political liberty" was strong, but at the same time it was crude and not consistent. Those who were loudest in proclaiming it were often found denying it to their Loyalist neighbors. Every Tory of prominence was likely to feel the vengeance of his Whig neighbors when opportunity offered. The latter learned it in the wanton destruction of their printing presses and types; it was manifested in the burning of individuals in effigy, continually in tarrings and featherings, ridings on rails through the streets, the breaking of windows, the stealing of live stock and personal effects, and the destruction of property generally. To refuse to accept the violent views of the Whigs was to be "disaffected," and even a suspicion of that was sufficient to cause arrest and imprisonment, all at the victim's own expense. When necessary the property of the victim was confiscated and used to meet the expenses.

WHAT DID LOYALISM MEAN?

One of the most interesting phases of the entire Loyalism question presented itself when the contest for independence was over. What was to be done with these people who had lost fortune as well as country in trying to serve their King? It was not an easy problem to solve. It could hardly be expected that the nation which they attempted to destroy should care for them. This fact was recognized at the very outset of the peace negotiations. Great Britain insisted on compensation to the Loyalists whose estates had been seized and forfeited. Her Commissioners tried hard to persuade Franklin, Adams and Jay to do justice to these unfortunate people. Days were spent in discussing this point; the English Commissioners insisting and ours as persistently refusing to make reparation.

There were various reasons for this attitude on the part of our Commissioners. That the Loyalists by their advice, falsehoods and misrepresentations had not only done much to bring on the war, but were also largely instrumental in prolonging it, there is no room to question; they were therefore in some measure the authors of their own misfortune. Many had taken up arms and aided in plundering and murdering their loyal fellow citizens. The property which had been confiscated had more than once changed owners and its return to its original owners was almost an impossibility in many cases. Besides, the country was in no condition to recompense its own citizens who had lost their property, much less to settle the demands of its enemies. Congress had instructed the Commissioners to enter into no negotiations respecting the claims of the Loyalists unless Great Britain agreed to make compensation for the property of American citizens destroyed by her.

Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Treaty as finally concluded, deal with this vexed question. Article 5 provided that "Congress should recommend to the several States to provide for the restitution of certain of the confiscated estates; that certain persons should be allowed a year to endeavor to recover their estates; that persons having rights in confiscated lands should have the privilege of pursuing all lawful means to regain them; and that Congress should use its recommendatory powers to cause the States to revoke or reconsider their confiscation laws. Congress unanimously assented to this arrangement, and issued the recommendation to the States which the treaty contemplated."

In the House of Lords as well as in the House of Commons this partial abandonment of the Loyalist created a violent discussion. Mr. Wilberforce said he saw his country humiliated thereby. Lord Mulgrave regarded it as a lasting national disgrace. Edmund Burke declared these people had risked their all and the nation owed them protection. Mr. Sheridan execrated the treatment the nation was giving these unfortunates, and he denounced as a crime, the giving of them into the hands of their enemies, the victims of confiscation, tyranny, resentment and oppression. Lord Walsingham declared he could scarce speak of the dishonor with patience. Lord Townsend said it was a circumstance of such cruelty as had never been heard of. Lord Stormond asserted that Britain was bound by justice, honor, affection and gratitude to provide for and protect them. Lord Loughborough believed that neither in ancient nor modern history had there been such a shameful desertion of men who had sacrificed all to duty and to their reliance upon British faith.

Of course the Ministry defended their treaty. The Prime Minister said "I have but one answer to give the House; it is the answer I gave my own bleeding heart. A part must be wounded that the whole of the empire may not perish. If better terms could be had, think you that I would not have embraced them? I had but the alternative either to accept the terms proposed, or continue the war." There appear to be good reasons for believing that the Commissioners on both sides were of the opinion that little of benefit would flow out of the articles in the treaty, to the Loyalists, and that the parties on either side who had suffered by the war, would have to look each to his own country for reparation, and so indeed the sequel proved. In some instances Loyalists succeeded in getting back part or all of their landed estate but these were exceptional cases rather than the rule. Most of them never recovered anything and were compelled to end their lives in exile and poverty.

WHAT DID LOYALISM REPRESENT?

What, it may be asked, did Loyalism represent? It stood up for law against all forms of rebellion. It stood for the established order of things. It was first, last, and all the time for the unity of the British Empire. At the same time it did not uphold the colonial system of the mother country in its entirety. Far from it. Before the actual breaking out of hostilities, as well as for some time after, the Loyalists were quite as anxious as the Whigs to have existing abuses corrected. But they proceeded through legally organized forms to bring these ends about. It must be remembered they were Americans as well as the Whigs, and as truly attached to their native country as the latter. But they believed and hoped that justice could be better secured by mild measures than by force and that the better sense of the English nation would in the end right their wrongs.

The views of a few prominent Loyalists may here be given. Dr. Myles Cooper, the President of King's College, now Columbia University, and the recognized Loyalist leader among the clergy, while he held and said "God established the laws of government, ordained the British power and commanded all to obey authority"; open disrespect to government was "an un-

pardonable crime"; "the principles of submission and obedience to lawful authority are inseparable from a sound, genuine member of the Church of England as any religious principle";⁶ yet Dr. Cooper thought the duty on imported tea "dangerous to constitutional liberty," and declared the Stamp Act to be contrary to American rights, and favored the opposition to the duties on paper, glass and other articles.⁷

Dr. Samuel Seabury, another prominent Loyalist, declared "My ancestors were among the first Englishmen who settled in America. I have no interests but in America. I have not a relative out of it that I know of. Yet, let me die! but I had rather be reduced to the last shilling, than that the imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink, or be controlled by any people or power on earth."⁸ Still another used this language: "My most earnest wish is for the happiness of America. I consider Great Britain and her colonies as but one body, which must be affected throughout by the sufferings of any one member. I consider them as constituting one great and illustrious family, to which I have the honor to belong; and I pray that its tranquility may be speedily restored, and that peace and harmony may forever reign through every part of it."⁹

There can be no question about the sincerity and honesty of these men. They were of the highest character. Immediately prior to the Revolution, the main distinction between the Whigs and Loyalists was what shape opposition to the acts of the English Parliament should take. Both sides held that injustice was being done to America. It was only a few ultra Tories who upheld the acts of the British government in their entirety.

Such were the views of the Loyalists up to the Declaration of Independence. After that they were reluctantly compelled to believe that the hour for argument and persuasion was past, and that the integrity and security of the British Empire could be secured only by pulling down the rising revolutionary spirit by force of arms.

DEMANDING RECOMPENSE FOR THEIR LOSSES.

The efforts of the Loyalists to secure recognition in the Treaty of Paris compelled them to enter upon a campaign for recompense from the British Government direct. As all parties agreed they had been ruined through their adherence to the King, public sentiment in Britain leaned toward compensation. They went to work with a will. They sought to bring the case before the people to arouse public sentiment in their favor. An agency was established to take charge of affairs, and a committee appointed consisting of one delegate from each of the Thirteen American States. By their direction a pamphlet was prepared and published in 1783 called "The Case and Claim of the American Loyalists, impartially stated and considered." The great authorities on international law of that day, Vattel and Puffendorf, were quoted and the arguments were in reality very strong. They had taken up arms at

⁶ A Friendly Address, etc., p. 5.

⁷ Ibid., p. 43.

⁸ A View of the Controversy, etc., p. 23.

⁹ Chandler, What think ye of Congress now? pp. 44-48.

the request of the King, and the latter was in honor bound to consider their claims. In fact, at the opening of Parliament, the King in the speech from the throne made reference to the "American sufferers," who, from motives of loyalty to him, had relinquished their properties or professions, and trusted that "generous attention would be shown to them." An act was passed creating a Board of Commissioners to examine and pass upon the claims of all such persons; they were also directed that in case any of these persons claimed greater amounts than they had lost, they were to receive no compensation whatever.

To get at the loyalty and conduct of these Loyalists, the Commission classified them under six heads. First: Those who had rendered services to Great Britain. Second: Those who had borne arms for Great Britain. Third: Uniform Loyalists. Fourth: Loyal British subjects resident in Great Britain. Fifth: Loyalists who had taken oaths to the American States, but afterwards joined the British. And, lastly, such Loyalists who had borne arms for the American States, but who afterwards joined the British army or navy.

The claimants set forth the character of the losses they had sustained. In adjusting these losses, there was often a great discrepancy between the amounts claimed and those allowed. In some cases the full claim was allowed, but in others only fractional sums, while still others got nothing at all, chiefly owing to their inability to prove their claims. This naturally gave rise to much complaint. The time limit in which claims could be presented was March 26, 1784. By that time 2,063 claims were handed in, and the aggregate of the amounts claimed was \$35,231,390. A second, third, fourth and fifth report was submitted, each representing additional claims and allowances that had been passed upon. By April 5, 1788, the Commissioners had passed upon and examined one thousand six hundred and eighty claims, and had liquidated the same for \$9,437,740. That the long delay in adjusting these claims should call out loud complaints was to be expected. A petition had been presented to Parliament in which it was said, "It is impossible to describe the poignant distress under which many of these persons now labor, and which must daily increase, should the justice of Parliament be delayed until all the claims are liquidated. Ten years have elapsed since many of them have been deprived of their fortunes, and, with their helpless families, reduced from independent affluence to poverty and want; some of them now languishing in British jails, others indebted to their creditors, who have lent them money barely sufficient to support their existence, and who, unless speedily relieved, must sink more than the value of their claims when received, and be in a worse condition than if they had never made them; others have already sunk under the pressure and severity of their misfortunes."

Whether that picture is overdrawn it is, of course, impossible for us at this time to say. Certain it is, however, there must have been a great amount of distress among these unfortunate people. In 1778 a tract supposed to have been written by the most pronounced of all Pennsylvania Loyalists, Joseph Gallaway, reiterates all the above statements. He says, "It is well known that this delay of justice has produced the most melancholy and shocking events. A number of the sufferers have been driven by it into insanity and become their own destroyers, leaving behind them their helpless widows and orphans

to subsist upon the cold charity of strangers. Others have been sent to cultivate a wilderness for their subsistence, without having the means, and compelled through want to throw themselves on the mercy of the American States and the charity of their former friends, to support the life which might have been made comfortable by the money long since due from the British Government; and many others, with their families, are barely subsisting upon a temporary allowance from Government—a mere pittance when compared with the sum due them."

Still later the eleventh report was made, at which time the entire number of claimants is restated, including those in England, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, at 5,072, of whom 952 either withdrew or did not prosecute their claim to a conclusion. The losses submitted in this last amended schedule were \$40,130,225, and the sum allowed was \$16,462,260, or about 40 per cent. of the amounts claimed. And yet it must be conceded that these people fared perhaps as well as many of the Whigs, whose property was often seized by raiding parties of the contending armies, often without compensation, but more frequently paid for in a currency so depreciated that they got only a fraction of its actual value.

FURTHER MEASURES FOR RELIEF.

It is impossible to regard without feelings of pity the conditions and fate of the Loyalists after the treaty of peace made in 1783. Their all had been staked on the results of the conflict, and they had lost. Their future prosperity was dependent upon the success of the British arms. The treaty of peace sounded the death knell of their hopes. They were aware that their victorious countrymen hated them even more than they hated the English, and that they had nothing to expect from them. It is true that the British ministry made a long and honest effort to protect them in their property. The fourth article in the treaty stipulated that the creditors on either side should "meet with no lawful impediment" in endeavoring to recover their good debts. The fifth article stipulated that the Congress of the United States should "earnestly recommend" to the several states the restoration of the rights and possessions of "real British subjects," and of Loyalists who had not borne arms against their countrymen. All other Loyalists were to be allowed to go into any state within twelve months to settle their affairs and recover their confiscated properties upon paying the purchasers the sale price. The sixth article was to the effect that no further confiscation should be made, that all imprisoned Loyalists should be released, and that further persecutions should not be permitted.

But in many localities these stipulations were disregarded. It was contended that no forfeited property should be restored, inasmuch as Great Britain refused compensation to Whigs whose property had been destroyed. In New York, many who returned under the terms of the treaty of peace were "insulted, tarred, feathered, and whipped, and even hamstrung."

Many of them, however, expatriated themselves forever, and these composed the very flower of the Loyalist party. They had sought refuge in various parts of the British Empire, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Nova Scotia and

various parts of Canada. But the real exodus began only after the treaty of peace had been made. Companies were formed by the well to do, which chartered ships to transport themselves to chosen asylums, while the poorer ones were carried away by the British government. On April 26, 1783, twenty vessels carried 7,000 to Nova Scotia. By August of the same year, 18,000 had arrived at St. Johns, and 10,000 more were expected. By December 16, about 30,000 had arrived, and among them were 3,000 negroes.¹⁰

For several years this stream of emigration continued to flow northward. "Within the period of one year, Shelburn grew into a city of 1,400 houses and 12,000 people. At the mouth of the St. John River, a town of more than 2,000 had sprung up in a year."¹¹ And still they continued to flow in from all directions. The estimates of the whole number of Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia vary from 28,347 to 40,000. England supplied as many as 33,682 rations, and as late as 1785 was still feeding 26,317 refugees. Counting all the Loyalists who had sought refuge in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, there were 35,000 who found new homes in those regions.¹² Besides, 20,000 had taken refuge in Canada proper. The entire period occupied by the dispersion of the Loyalists reached twelve years subsequent to 1775, and perhaps included in all as many as 60,000 souls.¹³

But sending them to her outlying provinces was not all Great Britain did for these unfortunate people. Before the crowning stroke came, she had many of them claiming her assistance. Home and lands had been sacrificed through their loyalty to the mother country, and they claimed her assistance in their hour of need. Many prominent men from New York and Boston early fled to London, where they were either given positions or temporary annuities. The many who went to Canada and Nova Scotia were given food and shelter. Houses and barracks were built for them. The plan was to make them self-supporting as far as possible. The men were employed on farms or given lands as tenants. Fuel, beds and household utensils were supplied them.

HOW SOME WERE COMPENSATED.

It is to England's credit that she fairly accepted the responsibility thus thrown upon her. Not only did she lose her most valuable colonies and incur a great war debt, but now this new burden also came along. The masses of the Loyalists were given lands, seeds, tools and provisions in British North America. "To the better classes, the churchmen, army officers and public officials, were given either larger land grants, lucrative positions in the army and navy, state or church, or pensions. Losses were made good in proportion to the services rendered."¹⁴

Surveying lands in Nova Scotia for the settlement of Loyalists began as early as 1782. By 1784, 1,000,000 acres had been surveyed at a cost of \$24,175.

¹⁰ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 11, p. 494.

Canadian Archives, 1894.

¹¹ Canadian Archives, 1894, p. 417.

¹² Canadian Archives, 1894, pp. 413-23.

¹³ Flick, pp. 179-180.

¹⁴ Flick, pp. 189-190.

and divided into lots; but the demand exceeded the supply, and still more lands were surveyed. Loyalists were exempted from the payment of fees and quit-rents for ten years. Boards to the value of \$27,500 were given them. Nails, glass, shingles, bricks and carpenters' tools were also supplied them. The King ordered ironwork for grist and saw-mills and other things to be sent them. For surveys, tools, lumber and seeds, fully \$100,000 were spent in two years and a half, and about \$4,500,000 in transportation, provisions, clothing, etc., during the first two and a half years.¹⁵

In Canada proper things proceeded much along the same lines. Land surveys began in 1783, and eight townships were at once surveyed. There was no absolute uniformity in size of the land grants. The rule was to give every adult male and every widow 200 acres. By an Act of the Provincial Council, 200 acres were also granted to every son and daughter of Loyalists when they attained their majority. In upper Canada, 3,200,000 acres were given to Loyalists who had settled there prior to 1787. Huts were at once built, as the grantees were required to settle on their lands at once; but a few years later, these were replaced with comfortable houses. In every way, the government lent its assistance. All their requests for tools were granted. An axe, a hoe, a plow and a spade were allotted to every two families until all were supplied; a whip and cross-cut saw to every fourth family; to every fifth family, a set of carpenter's tools, pick-axes, sickles, grindstones, corn-mills, grist-mills; and one cow to every two families. At first, firearms were denied them, but later were also furnished, that the people might provide themselves with game and wild fowl. About \$4,000,000 were spent in supplying these Canadian Loyalists. In the end, they became a prosperous and loyal people, and their descendants are to-day her best and most loyal colonial citizens.

THOSE WHO CROSSED THE OCEAN.

It still remains to tell how those Loyalists fared who had early in the struggle gone to England. They were for the most part the well-to-do class,—men who owned property but who could not carry it with them and were therefore wholly dependent upon the British government. There was, of course, a general exodus of the public officials, who from their positions had become specially obnoxious to the Whigs. The support it was thought would be only temporary, and began after 1775. There was no rule or uniformity in the payment either as to amount or time. At first, the payments were made quarterly, and later annually. By 1782, there were 315 recipients who received \$200,000 in the aggregate. The amounts ran from \$100 to \$2,500 each. The increasing number of pensioners resulted in an investigation, in consequence of which 81 names were dropped, reducing the aggregate yearly sum from \$200,000 to \$158,500; but 428 new claims were admitted in 1782, on which \$87,000 additional were allowed, making the grant for 1783, \$245,725. Only 25 applications were refused. The claims were, on account of loyalty, actual losses and positive need. One, John Tabor Kempe, who took \$70,000 to England with him, applied for an annuity, but was refused. He had, however, lost £98,000. All classes, from aristocratic landholders to emancipated

¹⁵ Canadian Archives, 1894.

slaves, from college presidents, soldiers, sailors, brewers, lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers, and farmers, were represented in the applications.

In all, 5,072 Loyalists presented claims for losses. Even the King urged Parliament to treat the Loyalists with "a due and generous attention." As a result, a commission was appointed by Parliament in 1785 to classify the "losses and services of those who had suffered in their rights, properties and professions on account of their loyalty." The commission went to work at once, and soon discovered their task was no easy one. All claims were to be presented by March 25, 1784; but the time was later extended to 1790. On the first date, 2,053 claims had been presented, representing losses in real and personal property amounting to \$35,231,000, and \$11,770,000 in debts, and \$443,000 in incomes, or a total of nearly \$47,500,000. By 1788, 1,680 claims had been adjusted, on which \$9,448,000 were allowed.

STILL MORE CLAIMS.

It was soon found that justice could not be done to these Loyalists unless commissioners took evidence in America. Such were accordingly sent both to Halifax and New York. The claims passed upon were 1,408, asking for nearly \$7,000,000, on which \$2,745,000 were allowed. The commissioners in this country gave three years to the work. Every effort was made to deal fairly with claimants; but the claims were "padded" to the utmost extent. Altogether 5,072 claims were presented, amounting to \$50,411,000. Of that number, 3,184 were allowed, and over \$19,000,000 were awarded and paid. The total outlay on the part of England on account of the Loyalists, during and after the war, was not less than \$30,000,000. A few of the largest claims were the following:

	Allowed.
Frederick Philipse, Jr., claimed \$770,000.....	\$210,000
Sir John Johnson " 516,000.....	223,000
Oliver De Lancy " 390,000.....	125,000
Beverly Robinson " 344,000.....	148,000
James De Lancy " 284,000.....	160,000

NOTE.—I have not found any lists of Lancaster County Loyalists who were deported or sent elsewhere, although they were plentiful. An incident came under my personal notice that throws some light on the question may be given. Nearly fifty years ago, I stood at the foot of that "world's wonder" the Falls of Niagara gazing on the sublime sight. An elderly gentleman approached me and began a conversation. I at once thought I detected the well known *Pennsylvania German accent* in his talk, and the longer he talked the more surely it became evident to me that there was Pennsylvania-German blood in him, and I told him so, and told him besides there were scores of men of his name and lineage in Lancaster County, Penna. Then he told me his grandfather and a good many more from Pennsylvania—from what county he did not remember—had been deported to Canada where they founded a small hamlet and where their descendants are still living. He had these particulars from his father who was a boy at that time.

Minutes of the November Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., Nov. 7, 1919.

The Historical Society met at their usual place this evening, November 7, 1919:

Treasurer A. K. Hostetter reported a balance of \$187.46 on hand.

Librarian Harry Stehman's report showed the following donations during the month:

A score of old Lancaster City directories from E. C. Steigerwalt.

An old sun dial from J. B. Moltz, of Allenhurst, N. J.

A pamphlet on William Henry, of Lancaster, by his great great grandson, Clarence A. Wolle, of Bethlehem.

Exchanges from the American Catholic Historical Society, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Bucks County Historical Society.

A Pennsylvania Public Service Commission publication on Natural Gas Companies.

A Lancaster City Directory of 1884, presented by Albert K. Hostetter.

A pamphlet entitled "The Juliana Library Co. in Lancaster," written by Judge C. I. Landis and presented by him.

Rev. C. B. Heller, of Salisbury, Md., was nominated for membership; and Hon. M. R. and Mrs. Hoffman, of Maytown, B. F. Hoffman, of Bainbridge, H. D. Malschnee, of Manheim, and Ross Myers, of Lancaster, were elected members.

The paper of the evening was a continuation of a paper on "Loyalists in the Revolution," prepared by F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., and was read by President Charles I. Landis.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1919

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

CAPTAIN WILLIAM TRENT, AN INDIAN TRADER,

By HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

MINUTES OF THE DECEMBER MEETING.

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Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader.

BY HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

In writing this sketch, I make no pretense of ploughing in original ground. Concerning its subject, the late Mr. Hensel, in Volume 16, page 142 of our own records, has copied a page or two from Cooley's *Genealogy of Trenton and Ewing*, which, in a brief way, refers to his life. That article is, however, neither full nor in all respects accurate; and, considering the important positions which Captain Trent occupied and the busy life he led, his story has not I think been adequately told. At several periods, he was a resident of Lancaster Borough, and this is my excuse for now presenting his almost forgotten name to my hearers. For a long time, he was intimately connected with the Indian trade and Indian traders. These activities, in the early days of the province, radiated from the old borough, and goods were carried by the traders to what was then the far west, beyond the Ohio.

William Trent was a son of Judge William Trent. The latter was a judge in this province and chief justice in New Jersey, and he was the founder of the city of Trenton. The subject of this article was born on February 13, 1715, but his biographers are not uniform as to the place of his birth. In Christopher Gist's *Journal*, by William M. Darlington, at page 249, it is said that he was born in Chester County; in *Egle's Notes and Queries*, Vol. 2, first series, at page 4, that he was born in Chester, subsequently Lancaster County; and Cooley, in his *Genealogy*, states that he was born and educated in Philadelphia. All, however, concur in saying that he was a native Pennsylvanian, and I am disposed to believe that the claim that he was born in what was then Chester County is correct.

The first reference I find anywhere to William Trent is the recitation in a deed, made to him on May 2, 1745, by which George Croghan conveyed the undivided half of a tract of 171 acres of land and allowances situated on the Conodegwinet Creek, in Pennsboro Township, which was then in Lancaster County. On October 7, 1745, William Walker and Elizabeth, his wife, conveyed to him and George Croghan a tract of 354 acres and allowance on the same creek and in the same township, and on December 24, 1745, the grantees gave a mortgage on this property for £200, to Abraham Mitchell, Hatter, of the City of Philadelphia. On July 4, 1746, William Trent, by two indentures, conveyed his undivided interest in both of the above mentioned tracts to George Croghan, in consideration of £70 and \$150 respectively. In the mortgage, the residence of both William Trent and Croghan is recited as

being in the County of Lancaster, but in the later conveyances William Trent is stated to be "at present residing at the City of Philadelphia."

Some time in the year 1746, an expedition was projected by the English Government and the Provinces against Canada. Of the forces raised, Pennsylvania furnished four companies. Of one of these companies, Governor Thomas appointed William Trent the captain. Hence came the title by which he was subsequently generally known. While the enterprise failed in its objects, yet the troops under his command were detained in New York for eighteen months, and they were only discharged in December, 1747. A vote of the Assembly conveyed to him its thanks for his conduct in this expedition.

On October 20, 1748, he wrote a letter from Mr. Croghan's to Richard Peters, which was, on November 1, 1748, read in Council, as follows:

"Last night came here from Alleghany one John Hays, who informs us that the night before he left it, the Indians killed one of Mr. Parker's hands; it was owing to ill usage Mr. Parker & his hands gave them that day, & his being a Maryland trader, who the Indians don't care should come amongst them. Mr. Parker had a large quantity of Liquor up with him which he was tying up in his goods in order to send to the lower Shawna Town, and the Indians kep pressing into his house & he unwilling that they should see what he was about, some he turned out, & others as they were coming in he pushed the door in their faces, upon which they were determined to take his Liquor, unless he would let them have it at the price settled at the Treaty. They brought him wampum, and offered to leave it in pledge, but he refused to let them have it, upon which they took a quantity from him, a great many of them got drunk, who then insisted upon revenge for the ill treatment he gave them, and accordingly took Parker prisoner and tyed him, and determined to scalp him, but the rest of the whites who were in the Town rescued him. He immediately went of about two miles from the Town, where some of his people lay, & got a horse, & rid that night thirty miles bare-backed to the Logs Town. The Indians imagined he had gone into his house, one of them layd wait for him at the door with his gun, at last one Brown, one of Mr. Parker's hands, came out with a white Matchcoat round him, which the Indian took for Parker (as he was in his shirt at the time they had tyed him) & shot him down. This happened at Coscaske. Mr. Croghan sends Wm. Brown, the lad from Carolina, off directly by a waggon to be delivered according to your directions. Mr. Croghan gave him a shirt and a cap, which comes to 12 s. 6 d. Mr. Croghan & myself set off the latter end of next week for Philad'a."

As the western part of Lancaster County lay a considerable distance from the Borough of Lancaster, where the courts of justice were held and the offices were kept, by an Act of Assembly passed January 27, 1749, Cumberland County was created. Governor Hamilton then appointed Trent one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the new county. How long he retained this position I cannot say. In 1750, he was engaged in the Indian trade with George Croghan, who is said to have been his brother-in-law. On January 4, 1751, Michael Teaf (or Taff) joined this partnership. Teaf resided on the Susquehanna, a short distance below Harris's Ferry.

A little prior to and about this time, difficulties arose between the French and the traders. On October 20, 1748, Trent wrote to Secretary Peters an account of a murder committed by an Indian at Kuskuskies, and on April 22, 1750, he wrote from Lancaster to the same gentleman that "Just before I left town (meaning Philadelphia) you told me that you would send some Marriage & Trading Lycenses. I'm afraid my mother has forgot. Tell me if you have sent them. Please to send to my mother for them. John Potts is just arrived from Allegheny, who says, some time before he came away, two men belonging to one, James Young, went from a place called Hochocken, about three hundred miles from Logtown, to the Twightees country (Miami) for skins. They staying longer than was expected, the master sent after them. They found the horses and saddles, all the buckles cut from the saddles, but the men were gone, either killed or taken by the French and Indians, supposed to be done by Ottoways. If this be true, as I believe it is, it would be a good opportunity (as the Indians must be at war with somebody) to make a peace between our Indians and the Carolina Indians & set them both on the French Indians. I expect to sleep at Harris' Ferry tonight. I came this morning from White Horse."

On March 5, 1751, he also wrote to Peters from Pennsboro:

"I received your letter pr John Holmes, with the money, and am very much obliged to you. You may depend upon my doing the utmost in my power for the hastening the payment of yr money.

"One of our men just come from Allegheny for Provisions says that the winter has been the hardest ever known in them parts, and Provisions so scarce that a Peck of Corn will fetch five shillings. The Indians has parted with what corn they had to spare already to the Traders, to keep their Horses alive, which makes them affraid if they part with more, they'll suffer themselves before the next crop. The Traders have lost a great menay horses which I am affraid we are no small sufferers.

"This man says that it was reported by a party of warriors that came to the 'Town where he was, that three of the Traders' men were taken by the French Indians. By the acc't the men and goods must be ours. He also says that it was reported that a Body of French and French Indians intended for the Twighties County to destroy the English Traders there, as soon as the season would permit.

"I understand that there's several Hundred familys intend to remove over the Hills this Spring & those that are over have no thoughts of removing.

"Mr. Miller desired I would acquaint you that he used the utmost of his power to get the widow to part with her place at a reasonable Price, but she would not consent to let it goe for less than what he wrote you."

This year, his name appears among the taxables of Middletown Township, Cumberland County, south of Carlisle, and he must, therefore, have been then living there at that time.

Early in 1752, the French built forts at Presque Isle (now Erie), LeBeouff (now Waterford), and Venango (now Franklin). Thereupon, Governor Dinwiddie took Trent into the service of that province.

In the meantime, Trent, for the Province of Virginia, had attended a council of the Ohio tribes at Logtown, in company with French Andrew (Andrew Montour). They met the heads of the Five Nations, the Picts, the Shawanees, the Owandots, and the Delawares. So wrote John Frazer, who then lived at Turtle Creek, near the ground which within two years was to be rendered famous as Braddock's Fields.

The Virginia authorities promised the Indians to supply them with ammunition to defend themselves against the French, and George Croghan, William Trent and Andrew Montour were appointed to make distribution.

On April 10, 1753, he wrote to Governor Hamilton: "I have received a letter just now from Mr. Croghan wherein he acquaints me that fifty odd Ottowas, Conewagos, one Dutchman and one of the Six Nations that was their Captain met with some of our people at a place called Kentucky, on this side Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles from the lower Shawanese Town. They took eight prisoners, five belonging to Mr. Croghan and me, and the others to Lowry. They took three or four hundred pounds worth of goods from us. One of them made his escape after he had been a prisoner three days. Three of John Finley's men are killed by the little Pict Town and no account of himself. They robbed Michael Teaff's people near the Lakes; there was one Frenchman in Company. The Owendats secured his People and five horse load of skins. Mr. Croghan is coming thro' the woods with some Indians and whites and the rest of the white men and the Indians are coming up the river in a body, though 'tis a question whether they escape, as three hundred Ottawas were expected at the lower Town every day and another party of French and Indians coming down the river. The Indians are in such confusion that there is no knowing who to trust. I expect they will all join the French, except the Delawares, as they expect no assistance from the English. The Low Dutchman's name that was with the party that robbed our people is Philip Philips. His mother lives near Col. Johnson. He was taken by the French Indians about six years ago and has lived ever since with them. He intends some time this summer to go and see his mother. If your Honors please to acquaint the Governor of New York with it, he may possibly get him secured by keeping it secret, and acquainting Col. Johnson with it, and ordering him to apprehend him. If the Dutchmen once comes to understand it, they will contrive to send him word to keep out of the way. I intend leaving directly for Allegheny with provisions for our People that are coming through the woods and up the river."

In August, 1753, Montour was with Trent at the Forks of the Ohio, when the latter viewed the ground on which a fort was to be built. John Frazer wrote that Trent had been viewing the ground on which the fort projected by the Ohio Company was to be built, and that he had left for Virginia.

In September of the same year, a treaty was made at Winchester, Virginia, between Col. Thomas Fairfax and the Six Nations. Trent and Croghan were both present there and assisted. Eighty Indians attended, and they were received with ceremony.

On February 3, 1754, Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton and his secretary, Richard Peters, urging the building of a strong log trading house or

stockade, in reality a fort, but inexpensive. He mentions that Mr. Trent has just come out with the Virginia Guards, and had brought a quantity of tools and workmen to begin a fort, and as he could not talk the Indian language, he (Croghan) was obliged to stay and assist in dividing the goods.

It seems that, in January of this same year, Governor Dinwiddie had commissioned Trent to raise a hundred men for this purpose. Trent got seventy, and with them he started a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. This was the commencement of the fort at this place. The King had sent out thirty pieces of cannon, four-pounders, with carriages and all necessary implements, and also eighty barrels of powder. Trent was familiar with this country, for he and Croghan, as partners in the Indian trade, had a store house above the mouth of Pine Creek. They had also numbers of large canoes and batteaux, and they had fenced in fields of Indian corn.

On February 17, 1754, Trent began the erection of the fort, and in the same month, he, with Christopher Gist, was at the mouth of the Red Stone Creek, building the storehouse for the Ohio Company, in order to lodge stores to be carried from there to the mouth of the Monongehela by water. This creek is about thirty-seven miles distant from where Fort Duquesne stood.

He heard that the French proposed to take possession of the country at an early day, and he therefore hastened to the nearest settlement, which was Will's Creek, to procure reinforcements. But during his absence from his command, the fort, then under the command of Lieut. Frazer and Ensign Ward, was on April 16, 1754, seized by a force of French and Indians, consisting of a thousand men, and three hundred canoes, with twenty cannon. They were under the command of M. de Contrecoeur. After the capture of the fort it was enlarged and finished by the French and was called Fort Duquesne after the then Governor of Canada. The trading post and property of Trent and Croghan were seized by the French and Indians, for on April 24, 1754, Croghan, at Carlisle, prepared an account of losses occasioned by the French and Indians driving the English traders off the Ohio, in which he states that the property seized belonged to William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Callender and Michael Teaf, traders in company.

Evidently, he and his partners then became financially embarrassed. A petition was presented by certain creditors to the Assembly on November 26, 1754, asking it to pass an Act exempting Trent and Croghan from arrest. On December 2, 1754, Croghan wrote to Secretary Peters: "Pray could not ye Assembly pass an Act of Bankruptcy to oblige ye merchants to take what effects we (the firm of Croghan & Trent) have to pay and so discharge us. I should be glad to know if that could be don, or in what manner to proceed." The Assembly passed such an Act, but after three years, it was disallowed by the Crown.

In 1755, Trent is said to have entered into the service of his native Province, and that for two years he was a member of the Provincial Council. His name is not mentioned in Keith Provincial Councillors, and I cannot find any record of him during that and the succeeding year in the Colonial Records.

He wrote from Carlisle, on Sunday Evening, 15th February, 1756, "Sir:

Wensday Evening two Lads were taken or killed at the Widow Cox's, just under Parnelle Nob, and a Lad who went from McDowell's Mill to see what fire it was never returned, the horse coming back with the Reins over his neck. They burnt the house and shot down the cattle. Just now came news that a party of Indian warriors were come out against the Inhabitants from some of the Susquehannoh Towns, and yesterday some People who were over in Shurman's Valley discovered fresh tracks. All the people have left their Houses betwixt this and the Mountain. Some come to Town and others gathering into the little Forts. They are moving their effects to Shippenburgh: every one thinks of flying. Unless the Government fall upon some effectual method & that immediately of securing the Frontiers, there will not be one Inhabitant in this Valley one month longer. There is a few of us endeavor to keep up the Spirits of the People. We have proposed going upon the Enemy tomorrow, but whether a number sufficient can be got I cannot tell. No one scarce seems to be effected with the distress of their Neighbors, and for that reason none will stir but those who are next the Enemy & in immediate danger. A Fort in this Town would have saved this part of the County; but I doubt this Town in a few days will be deserted if this party that is out should kill any people nigh here. I was of the opinion the Forts, as they were built, would be of no service. I was laughed at for it, but now the Inhabitants here are convinced of it. I wrote for the Militia, and expect an answer by the Post."

About this time, he must have had his home in Lancaster, for his daughter, Ann, was born here on October 20, 1756, and his daughter, Martha, on October 24, 1759. He must have been a renter, for no real estate appears in his name. He, after Braddock's defeat, went to Wills Creek (Fort Cumberland), and assisted Washington, and he also attempted to raise a force to go against the Indians; but in this he was unsuccessful.

In 1757, he was again in the employ of Virginia, and later of Pennsylvania, and on July 27, of that year, he was secretary of Croghan at the Council with the Indians held at Easton, when the Great Treaty was entered into between the Indians and Governor Denny. On May 2, he was at Bethlehem, and on June 16, at Winchester, Virginia. From Bethlehem he wrote to Governor Denny:

"May it Please your Honor:

"At the request of the Indians at Lancaster and Mr. George Croghan, I came with two of the Chiefs of the Six Nations. One returned from Reading, the other came here in order to bring Tedyuscung and the rest of the Delawares if arrived to Lancaster. If not, to bring what was here or their Chiefs, and leave word for Tedyuscung to follow with the rest as soon as he arrived. Yesterday, the Mohawk Sachem, who came here, delivered his speech in the presence of Mr. Horsfield & several other of the Inhabitants to the Indians here, and they have agreed that a number of their Chiefs with some women shall set off with us this morning for Lancaster, and have left the Wampum with word for Tedyuscung to follow with the rest as soon as he arrives.

"The day before yesterday, an Indian came down from Fort Allen here. He says all the Indians that were there, except Six or Seven, are gone off.

"I have heard two reasons given, one was that, as Tedyuscung stayed so long, they would goe back and Plant their Corn and then return again, unless they should meet him coming down, then they would return with him. But the Indians tell me the reason they went off was that they were afraid when they heard that there was white people killed. Here is no late accounts of Tedyuscung."

In 1758, he accompanied General Forbes in his Expedition against Fort Duquesne, and in 1759 was employed by Sir William Johnson, who was at that time British Agent for Indian Affairs in America. On October 4, 1759, he was present at the treaty made with the Ohio Indians at Fort Pitt, and also at the subsequent conference held by General Stanwix and the Western Indians in October. In 1760, he was with General Monckton at Fort Pitt.

He, with those whose signatures are appended, wrote:

"To the Honble Col. Henry Boquet, Commanding His Majesty's Troops at Fort Pitt.

"The Memorial of the Merchants Trading here Humbly sets forth:

"That by orders given out by the Honble Brigadier General Mouckton last summer (1760) and lately renewed by you, all Merchants, Sutlers, etc., trading here, were forbid under penalty of having their Houses pulled down and being dismissed the Camp, to sell, barter, or Exchange with any Indian, Powder, Lead or Spiritous Liquors, without first applying to His Majesty's Deputy Agent here for liberty for so doing, and as yesterday, Mr. McClure, in behalf of Mr. Ormsby, as well as others, did apply to His Majesty's Agent for liberty to sell a quantity of Rum to an Indian Woman, which he refused; and as the Provincial Agent has from time to time sold Powder, Lead and Rum to the Indians without liberty first obtained of His Majesty's Agent, as enjoined by the Orders, & did yesterday sell a quantity of Rum to a Delaware Woman without liberty, after several of us had applied and were refused. That we, the Merchants trading here, look upon the Provincial Agent as a Merchant in common with us, and as such subject to any orders of the Commanding Officer; that a privilege allowed to any one Merchant to brake thro' the orders, while the rest are obliged to obey them must entirely ruin the rest; which obliges me to call upon you for redress, which from your known regard to Justice we make no doubt of obtaining.

"And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.

"William Trent

"Ephraim Blane

"Thomas Mitchell

"Thomas Welsh

"John McClure

"Hugh Crawford

"James Harris."

After the building of Fort Pitt, John Finley seems to have settled there with George Croghan, and a number of other Cumberland County traders. In a list of the inhabitants of Fort Pitt in July, 1760, not belonging to the

army, the name of John Finley is given, together with the names of Lazarus Lowry, Edward Ward, William Trent, Hugh Crawford, and more than eighty other men, the greater part of whom were traders. His name also appears in the lists of 1761.

During the ensuing years, he entered largely into the Indian trade. On May 16, 1760, William Trent, Joseph Simon, David Franks and Levi Andrew Levy entered into articles of agreement as partners in the western fur trade. The agreement, intended to last nine years, was under the "adventure" system, which did not restrict the partners in other business. Accustomed to taking daring risks, Trent, at a settlement, on January 9, 1869, was heavily in debt to his partners. To secure £4,082 he owed Joseph Simon and David Franks, he gave them a mortgage on 7,500 acres of land in what was then Cumberland County, Pa. Michael Gratz acquired a joint interest in this land. As the title of Trent passed to Joseph Simon, it was in litigation between the executors and heirs of Simon and Gratz for many years, finally reaching the Supreme Court of the United States.

Joseph Simon, as is known to all of you, lived in the Borough of Lancaster. His dwelling house was located where the Conestoga Bank now stands. His store and warehouse were on the southeast corner of East King Street and Penn Square, where the Watt & Shand store has been erected. Col. David Franks lived in the City of Philadelphia. He owned considerable real estate from time to time in Lancaster, and he was a man of wealth. Levi Andrew Levy lived in Lancaster, and was a merchant. Where he kept his store during the pendency of this partnership, I cannot now say; but on June 19, 1775, he purchased the property now owned by the Fulton National Bank.

This firm had a large trading house near Fort Pitt. In 1763, Pontiac formed his conspiracy, and with his Indians overran the western country, killing the traders and settlers, and destroying their property. Practically all the western posts were seized, except Detroit and Fort Pitt which were besieged. At Bloody Run, Captain Trent and twenty-two other traders were attacked by the Indians, and their goods were taken or destroyed. The trading house was also destroyed, and he was totally ruined. He fled to Fort Pitt for safety, and was there employed in military duties by Captain S. Ecuyer, the Commandant of that post.

A treaty was made with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768. The Indians at that time made a conveyance of a large tract of land between the Kanawha and the Monongahela Rivers, about two-thirds of what is now the State of West Virginia, as compensation for these depredations. This deed was made to Captain Trent, as attorney in fact for himself and his twenty-two associate traders, who had, in 1763, suffered loss. The names of the beneficiaries, outside of Trent, were: Robert Callender, David Franks, Joseph Simon, Levi Andrew Levy, Philip Boyle, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, George Morgan, Joseph Spear, Thomas Smallman, John Welch, Edward Moran, Evan Shelby, Samuel Postlethwait, John Gibson, Richard Winston, Dennis Crohon, William Thompson, Abraham Mitchell, James Dundas, Thomas Dundas, John Ormsby. The amount claimed by Franks, Trent, Simons & Co..

was £24,780, 1 s. 8 p. The deed given by the Indians was in Independence Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, and probably yet remains there.

At a meeting held by the grantees of these lands, the following measures were agreed upon :

"In consideration of the great losses and damages amounting to £85,916, 10 s. 8 d. lawful money of New York sustained by sundry traders in the Spring of the year 1763, when the Shawanese, Delaware and Huron Tribes of Indians, Tributories of the Six Nations, seized upon and appropriated the Goods, Merchandize and effects of the Traders, The Sachems and Chiefs of the Six Nations, meeting at Fort Stanwix on Nov. 3, 1768, granted unto the said Traders :

"All that Tract or parcel of Land, Beginning at the Southerly side of the South of little Kenhawa River, where it empties itself into the River Ohio, and running from thence North East to the Laurel Hill, thence along the Laurel Hill until it strikes the River Monongehela, thence down the stream of the said River Monongehela, according to the several courses thereof, to the Southern Boundary Line of the Province of Pennsylvania. Thence westerly along the course of the said Province Boundary Line as far as the same shall extend, and from thence by the same course to the River Ohio, according to the several courses thereof, to the place of Beginning.

"And whereas, we understand there are numbers of Families settled on the said Lands. We do hereby give notice that they may be assured of peaceable possession on complying with the Terms of our general Land Office, which will shortly be opened for the sale of the said Lands in behalf of all the grantees, and that the purchase will be made easy."

Captain Trent visited England, to secure the approval of this grant. The minutes of a meeting held by the grantees on September 2, 1773, contain the following report :

"Mr. William Trent informs the company present that on his arrival in England, Anno 1769, being advised by Doctor Franklin, Lord Cambdin and others, that it was unnecessary to make application to the Crown or King in Council for a Confirmation of the above mentioned Grant, but that all he had to do was to return and take possession thereof, and understanding that Lord Hillsborough was determined to oppose a confirmation of the said Grant, as will appear by his Letters to Sir William Johnson, he declined making the said application for the same to be confirmed. This Mr. Trent recommends not to be made public, as it may perhaps give an unfavorable Idea of our Right to the common people; but he thought it his duty to communicate it to this Company. He further acquaints them that soon after his arrival in England, a Company of Gentlemen made a purchase from the Crown of a tract of Land on the Ohio, which includes the Grant of all the Tract given or Granted by the Six Nation Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid. That the said Company of Purchasers, stiling themselves the Grand Ohio Company, agreed in the minutes of their proceedings to confirm and convey to the said suffering Traders all their Right and Title to that part of their purchase which includes the Grant from the Indians to the suffering Traders as aforesaid."

The King is said to have sanctioned the grant but I cannot give the date, and in 1780, a committee of the Continental Congress reported in its favor. However, the government of Virginia within whose limits it lay refused to give its approval, and the grant was thereby rendered ineffective. Trent, however, settled upon this land and remained there until the beginning of the Revolutionary War, when he returned to Pennsylvania, and accepted a Major's commission from the Continental Congress. His active service was in the western department, and, in the line of his duty, he was present at the treaty made with the Indians at Fort Pitt in 1776.

On his return from England, a quarrel arose between him and Baynton and Morgan, a firm of noted traders in the western country prior to the Revolution. They were located in the City of Philadelphia. On July 8, 1775, George Morgan published the following notice:

"Captain William Trent, lately arrived from England, having been guilty of very dishonest & dishonourable Acts to the Prejudice of my late father-in-law, John Baynton, dec'd, & having refused to give him any reason for his conduct, & still refusing to give any satisfaction therein, I do hereby announce and declare the said Wm. Trent to be an infamous lyar and a Scoundrel."

Trent made no response to these charges.

Captain Trent and certain associates organized a company to which they gave the name of the Indiana Land Company. It is so called on Hutchins's map of 1778. The Virginia Legislature, however, also refused to confirm this grant from the Indians, and the traders eventually suffered the additional loss of all they had paid for securing and protecting the same.

Another large tract, which was bounded by land of George Croghan on the south, was also bought from the Indians and patented in 1769 to Charles Reed, Thomas Wharton, William Trent, and others, and this tract was known as the Otsego Patent.

In December, 1775, the Assembly passed a bill for the relief of Trent and Croghan for a period of ten years.

At the March Term of the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County, in 1776, an action of debt was commenced by Alexander Lowrey against William Trent, to recover the sum of £4,026, 8 s. 7 d. Thereupon, Trent made the following defense: "That on the 22d day of December, 1768, he, together with George Croghan and Samuel Wharton, becoming jointly and severally bound to Alexander Lowrey in the sum of eight thousand and fifty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, conditioned for the payment of the sum £4,026 8 s. 7 d. within four years after the ratification and confirmation by his Majesty or other lawful authority in England, or of a certain deed or grant heretofore made by certain Indians in the said conditions mentioned, or if any other grant or confirmation of lands or other satisfaction then or thereafter to be made to or for certain sufferers in the said conditions mentioned, by the depredations committed by the said Indians in the year of our Lord, 1763, as by the said obligation and the conditions thereof, a true copy whereof is to these presents annexed, fully appears; and that he is not indebted on bond to the said Alexander Lowrey by or for any

other matter or thing whatsoever, and the said William Trent further saith that the deed or grant so as aforesaid made by the said Indians to the persons in the said conditions named, was not ratified or confirmed by his Majesty or other lawful authority in England, on the 21st day of April last past, at which time this deponent left England, nor as this deponent has been informed and verily believes, hath the same ever hitherto been so aforesaid or in any way ratified or confirmed; nor hath any grant or confirmation whatsoever been made, ratified and confirmed of any lands whatsoever to the persons in the said conditions mentioned, or to any other persons to and for the use of the sufferers aforesaid, in the year aforesaid or of any of them; nor hath any other satisfaction of any kind whatsoever been made or given by any person whatsoever to the persons in the said conditions mentioned, or to any of them, or to any other persons to and for the use of the sufferers aforesaid, in the year aforesaid, or any of them, and the said William Trent further saith that the said £4,026 8 s. 7 d. in the said conditions mentioned, nor any part thereof, is not yet due or payable to the said Alexander Lowrey by the obligors therein mentioned or any of them, according to the form of the said conditions or the true intent and meaning thereof."

The defense set forth in the affidavit was evidently considered a good one, for Col. Lowrey did not recover on this bond.

While on his way east in 1778, Trent took ill at his old home in Cumberland County, and he died there from this illness. He was buried in an old graveyard not far from Silver Spring Church Yard, if not in this identical burying ground. That Church Yard is located along the highway between Harrisburg and Carlisle, and about seven miles from the former city. This churchyard is several hundred yards from the road back of the church. Major Trent was a representative man in Provincial days, and he spent most of his life in the public service.

Minutes of the December Meeting.

DECEMBER 5, 1919.

The monthly meeting of the Historical Society was held at the usual place with the President, Judge Chas. I. Landis, presiding.

The Minutes of the November Meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of \$215.40.

The Librarian's report showed the following donations and exchanges:

Copper and other mineral specimens from the famous Alamo, Texas.

An authoritative pamphlet on its historical building.

University of Arizona bulletins.

Oklahoma Historical Society pamphlets.

Kansas State Historical Society biennial report.

Massachusetts State Historical Society proceedings, 1918-19.

Bureau of American Ethnological bulletins 60 and 70.

Andevera in the Spanish Colonies, by C. H. Cunningham, University of California.

Military Map of the Southern and Border States, by Miss Bausman.

A Collection of more than 30 German Almanacs printed in Lancaster, York, Hagerstown and Philadelphia, 1849-1919, by Peter H. Flick.

A petition signed by many Lancaster citizens requesting Mr. John A. Boring to run for Mayor of Lancaster in 1880, by Mr. M. T. Garvin.

A collection of scraps of prose and poetry consisting of biographical sketches, tales, conundrums, etc., collected by the late S. S. Rathvon, 1833-1840, by Geo. F. Rathvon, 643 Fourth St., Lancaster, Pa.

Miss Helen E. Hickman was proposed for membership.

Rev. C. B. Heller, of Salisbury, N. C., was elected a member of the Society.

Nomination of officers to serve during the coming year are:

President, Judge Chas. I. Landis.

First Vice-President, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Second Vice-President, A. Frank Eshleman, Esq.

Recording Secretary, Miss Adeline B. Spindler.

Acting Recording Secretary, John L. Summy.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark.

Treasurer, Albert K. Hostetter.

Librarian, Harry L. Stehman, Jr.

Executive Committee, L. B. Herr, Geo. F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, D. F. Magee, Esq., Miss Mary N. Robinson, Miss Sarah D. Carpenter, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, I. C. Arnold, Esq., Prof. H. H. Beck.

A bill of \$7.50 for services incident to cleaning the room was presented by Mr. Stephens and on motion was ordered paid.

A letter from Thomas Oliver Mathot, asking the Society to send certain copies of the Columbia Spy on the Society's files to the New York Public Library and Columbia University was read and on motion refused.

A communication from the Minnesota Historical Society requesting the Lancaster County Historical Society to furnish them with certain back numbers and enter into an agreement to exchange future pamphlets was referred to the Librarian and Library Committee with power to act without injury to our Society.

An invitation to the President, or in case of his inability a substitute, to attend the fifteenth anniversary of the Berks County Historical Society was read. As President Landis was unable to go he asked for a volunteer. There being no response the matter was held over.

The Paper of the evening was read by the President on "Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader." It was referred with the thanks of the Society to the Committee on Publication.

J. L. SUMMY,
Acting Secretary.

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXIV

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

ITEMS OF LOCAL INTEREST FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, FROM 1761 TO 1770,

By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

OFFICERS FOR 1920.

OBITUARIES FOR 1919.

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT.

LIBRARIAN'S ANNUAL REPORT.

SECRETARY'S ANNUAL REPORT.

MINUTES OF THE JANUARY MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 1.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

**PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.**

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Annual Society Outing.

The annual outing of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held Saturday, September 20, 1919, at Cassel's Park, near Marietta, upon invitation from Hon. H. B. Cassel.

Members and friends began to gather about noon and at 3.30 o'clock, when President Landis called the meeting to order, there were about 150 members present.

After singing "The Star Spangled Banner," led by Wm. A. Trost, the President introduced Mr. Cassel, who delivered an address of welcome.

Mr. H. Frank Eshleman responded on behalf of the Society.

Dr. Montgomery, State Librarian, delivered an address on "Mifflin and his work during the Revolutionary War as Aide-de-Camp to General Washington."

An historical sketch of the farm upon which the park is located where the outing was held, prepared by Miss Martha B. Clark, was read by D. F. Magee, Esq.

An original poem, written by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, entitled "A Voice From Flanders," was read by Mr. H. Burd Cassel.

After some closing remarks by the President the meeting closed by singing "America."

A social hour followed during which Mr. and Mrs. Cassel entertained the Society and friends in a very hospitable manner.

Items of Local Interest from the Pennsylvania Gazette, from 1761 to 1770.¹

By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.

1761.

The issue of January 15 recites that the French garrison at Detroit are at Lancaster, on their way to Philadelphia and also a number of the people that were prisoners there, are also in the company. And in the issue of February 5 it is stated that the French Governor of Detroit and some officers and 38 privates belonging to the French garrison there, had reached Philadelphia; and were on their way to New York.

The issue of January 22 contains news of the death of George II; and the announcement of the accession of George III. It also sets out the rejoicing among the people that George III reigns. All the dignitaries of Philadelphia gathered at the "Governor's House" to hear the new king proclaimed. How differently they felt a few years later!

The same issue contains a sale advertisement by Whitlock and Dillwyn of their goods in their store in Lancaster Borough, which they were about to dispose of. The store and warehouse adjoined the house in which Jas. Davis, the shopkeeper, lived and was opposite Ludwig Lowman's, in King Street near the Court House.

We may pause here to note that our neighbor town of Reading held festive exercises on January 26, to celebrate the accession of George III. An excellent sermon was preached in St. Michael's Church by Rev. Wm. Hansihl. In the evening the town was beautifully illuminated; and large bonfires were made in several parts of the place and on the Mountain nearby. The *Gazette* of February 5 records this event.

Joseph Pugh, of Lancaster, was appointed to sell lottery tickets for the Dunlap lottery. This is recorded in the issue of March 12. This was a lottery to dispose of Dunlap's books before his going to England.

In the issue of April 2 the census or rather number of houses of Philadelphia is set out, there being 2,969 houses. In 1753 there were 2,300. We remember that Lancaster had 500 houses or 2,000 people in 1754, and in 1766 we had 600 houses. Thus it appears that Lancaster was about one fifth the size of Philadelphia, about this time.

In the issue of April 16 Felix Donnelly, the Lancaster jailer, advertises that he holds Jere Wilson, a run-away servant of Grubb's iron works.

The same issue contains an echo of Lancaster County slavery. Ulrich

¹ See October, 1919, number for prior items.

Reigart advertises a healthy negro boy, fourteen years old, for sale. He sets out that he has had smallpox and measles; and is country born.

The issue of July 9 contains an article stating that James Sterrett of Rapho Township, lost his negro servant boy. I mention this only because the Sterretts of Donegal and of that neighborhood were in the ancestry of Justice Sterrett, late of our Supreme Court.

The issue of July 23 contains a large advertisement of the lotteries for the assisting in building the Presbyterian Church of Lancaster, the Dutch School House in Lancaster, and the bridge over the Octoraro.

The issue of August 20 contains an advertisement of the lotteries for the improvement of the buildings of the New Jersey College, the Oxford Church, the German School House and the Presbyterian Churches of Lancaster, of Middletown and of the Forks of the Brandywine.

The statement is made that a \$2,135 lottery for erecting the School House for the High Dutch Reformed Congregation at Lancaster is to be held; also one for raising \$565 to enable the wardens of St. James Church at Lancaster to complete the work begun by them.

The school lottery uses the argument that in order that the poor may have equal chances with the rich, the members of the High Dutch Reformed Congregation intend erecting a new school building. Their old school building, it is set out, was erected almost with the first settlement of the town; and it is too small and is dangerous. And as the congregation have just spent a large sum on erecting their new church, they are unable to carry out the plan of the school house without aid.

The St. James' wardens return thanks for the public's generous response to their call for money in the past; but state that they need more funds also. The managers to conduct the combined Episcopal Church and Dutch Church Lottery were Geo. Ross, John Barr, Bernard Hubley, Mathias Slough, Wm. Bowman, Christopher Crawford, Casper Shaffner, Michael Fortney, Daniel May, Phil. Lenhorn, Paul Weitzel, Jacob Kurtz, Ludwig Lowman in Lancaster Boro; and Henry Wm. Steigel, James Anderson, Thos. Holiday of Lancaster County; Wm. Reiser and Peter Teller of Bucks County; Michael Swoop and Geo. Kurtz of York County; and Jacob Werner of Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian Church set out their case, and at the same time mention something of the history of their first church building, in the same issue, August 20, as follows: "Whereas the members of the Presbyterian Congregation in Lancaster are at present erecting a house for the public worship of God; and for that purpose have severally contributed, in proportion to their abilities; but find that the sums already acquired cannot possibly defray the expense of completing such a building; and as they are perfectly sensible that when engaged in endeavoring to advance true religion, and to assist their fellow Christians, in diffusing and perpetuating its inestimable blessings, it is their indispensable duty to omit nothing that may be subservient to this valuable end; they therefore have found it necessary to enable themselves further, by having recourse to a small and easy lottery. And at a time when the generosity and benevolence of the public are so remarkable, when every laudable design, every pious and beneficial institution, soliciting an encouragement,

meets with immediate approbation, and countenance, it is humbly expected and presumed that this will likewise be favored with a kind reception."

It is then set out that the design is to raise \$2,250. To do this 5,000 tickets at \$3 each were sold.

The managers were John Anderson, Adam Hoopes and Francis Campbell in Cumberland County; George Stephenson, Esq., and Col. Hans Hamilton in York County; Wm. Bowman, Robt. Thompson, John Harris, Samuel Scott, James Anderson, Henry Helm, Andrew Work, Moses Irwin, John Allison and Wm. White in Lancaster County; Wm. Henry in Philadelphia; Dr. John McKinley and Thomas Montgomery in New Castle; Job Ruston, John Miller, John Culberson of Chester County.

The managers of the lottery to build a bridge over Octoraro, at James Porter's Mill, where the Great Road from Lancaster to Nottingham crosses the Octoraro, were Wm. Newlands, Elihu Hall, James Porter, Willm. Ewing, Robt. Ewing, Patrick Ewing and Samuel Gillespie. The Porters, Ewings and Gillespies were all prominent in those early days.

In the issue of October 8 the election returns are given: Assembly for Lancaster County, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, John Douglass and James Webb. For sheriff, John Hay and John Barr; and for Coroner, Mathias Slough and Fred Stone. (Note: the governor selected the sheriff and coroner from two candidates returned for each office. He generally selected the one having the highest vote.)

In the issue of December 3 John Posthewaite advertises for a horse stolen from Sebastian Graeff of Lancaster Boro.

In the issue of December 10 there is advertised a lottery for the building of a bridge over Great Conestoga Creek where the Great Road between Lancaster and Philadelphia crosses it. This lottery recites that the great trade carried on between the city of Philadelphia and the Boro of Lancaster, and the parts beyond and adjacent to said Boro, is so well known to all merchants, tradesmen and farmers and almost to all the inhabitants of this Province, that, it would be useless to give a particular account of it. But as it is altogether carried on by land carriage, every method that can render it more safe and easy ought to be pursued. Therefore the management, in their desire to serve the county, think it expedient to raise a sum of money to build a bridge over the said creek, which is oftentimes impassable and dangerous for a long time.

Thirteen thousand five hundred tickets at \$4 each were to be sold for the project; and of the \$54,000 so raised 15 per cent. or \$8,100 were to be used for the bridge; and the remaining \$45,900 was to go to the prize winners.

The managers were Adam Simon Kuhn, Robert Thompson, Geo. Ross, John Hays, Wm. Bauman, Wm. White, John Barr, Philip Lenheer, Chris. Crawford, Mathias Slough, Jos. Simons, Robert Fulton (father of the inventor), Adam Reiger, John Spoor, Jacob Carpenter, Wm. Smith, Col. Pat. Work, James Anderson, Thos. Minshall, Henry Wm. Stiegel, John Miller, Henry Walters, Wm. Douglass, Garrett Brenner, Thos. Black, Michael Haverstick, Michael Swope, John Hopkins, Henry Kepperle—a galaxy of brains and genius, which ought to have insured the success of any undertaking in those early days.

The issue of December 31 contains notice of a lottery to raise \$562 to pay

the arrears due to a company of soldiers in Berks County. These were Tulpehocken soldiers, who went out in 1753 against the savages, and had never been paid.

Thus it appears that the lottery was an almost universal means of putting across any project, needing money, which the people were not able to raise in the ordinary manner. It would seem that loans were not thought of.

1762.

In the issue of January 28, of this year, the Leacock Presbyterian Church lottery is referred to and the same postponed. This would point out that the Leacock Presbyterian Church was building about the same time that the Lancaster Church was in progress of erection.

In the issue of July 15 there is a public notice requiring all those of the Province who have demands against the government for quartering of soldiers, of each county, to make them known to the Provincial Commissioners.

In the issue of October 7 the Lancaster County election returns appear as follows: Assembly, John Douglass, James Webb, Emanuel Carpenter and James Wright. Returned for selection for sheriff, John Hay and John Barr; and returned for selection for coroner, Mathias Slough and Casper Shaffner.

The election returns for Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, York, Berks, Northampton and Cumberland Counties also appear here.

In the issue of November 4 there is an item, setting forth that at the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Lancaster County three persons were convicted of burglary; and sentenced to death.

1763.

In the issue of April 7 there is an article, setting forth that Constable Adam Reid had made recovery of a lot of hardware, carpenter's tools, etc., stolen from the Leacock Presbyterian Church then being built, a lot of bricks from the Lancaster Barracks and an iron stove from Cornwall furnace.

The issue of August 4 details how the Indians are collecting in York County and in East Carlisle. Refugees are fleeing these parts; and are being well taken care of by moneys collected by many church congregations; and that the Quakers and Mennonites were very liberal in this enterprise. They gave large sums of money and hired and paid armed men to go to the defense and to help get in the crops, in the dangerous sections.

In the September 1 issue the political cards and announcements appear for the first time. John Barr announces his candidacy for sheriff. Prior to this year no such cards appear. But from this time on many candidates seemed to avail themselves of the newspaper advertising.

In the issue of September 8 there is an item regarding a body of men who went from our Lancaster and other neighborhoods to Great Island in the West Branch of Susquehanna (the frontier), to fight the savages. Among them Clemens, Scott, Chambers, McLaughlin and others were wounded. The party consisted of 110 men.

In the issue of October 6 the local election returns are published as follows: Assemblymen, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, John Douglass and Isaac Saunders; for sheriff, John Hay and John Barr; for coroner, Mathias Slough and George Strickler.

The issue of October 17 contains an account of the horrible butchery of whites by Indians. It recites that near Wyoming nine men and a woman were thus killed. The woman was roasted and had two large barn door hinges in her hands, put there red hot to torture her. Several of the men had awls thrust into their eyes, and spears, arrows and pitchforks stuck into their bodies.

In the issue of November 17 there is an article detailing how the people of Lancaster County have responded to the defense of the inhabitants against Indian outrages, and it concludes that the people "have shown a noble spirit on all occasions of that kind."

1764.

The issue of April 5 contains an item showing how the people about Carlisle and other parts stood in great fear of Indian outrages.

The issue of Aug. 2 contains a notice of the death of Gilbert Tennant, who for so long a time had violent religious controversies with George Whitfield.

In the issue of September 27 there is announcement by John Douglass that he refuses longer to be a candidate for Assembly. The election returns of the several past years would seem to show that he was a favorite. He is no doubt a character, whose career ought to be written up. In the same issue several political cards appear announcing candidacies.

Among the political announcements is that of Samuel John Atlee, addressed to "the freeholders and other electors of the Boro of Lancaster and County of Lancaster," announcing his candidacy for sheriff, soliciting votes and promising, if elected, a high discharge of duty. Other cards are those of John Barr and Patrick Work.

In the issue of October 11 there is an article which takes issue with an effort made to "change the constitution" of the Province in favor of England. This article commends those who took the patriotic stand against the change which was levelled at "the rights of the freemen." John Montgomery was particularly complimented on his stand.

In the same issue appear the local election returns: Assemblymen, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, Isaac Saunders and James Webb. For sheriff, John Barr and James Webb, Jr. For coroner, Mathias Slough and Geo. Strickler.

In the issue of November 8 there is the item that Benjamin Franklin was appointed agent of Pennsylvania at the Court of Great Britain, and had set out for Chester to set sail. A great number of people accompanied him to Chester. (Our growing difficulties with mother England now made it necessary that we have the strongest man possible to represent us there.)

1765.

The issue of February 28 sets out the answer of James Galloway in reply to Jonathan Dickinson, who argued in support of a change of our government. The petition was made to the Crown for the change. Dickinson was for the change; and Galloway against it. Benjamin Franklin has a preface to the article, applauding the position of Galloway. (It would have been well for Pennsylvania and the colonies if Galloway had always been so patriotic.)

In the issue of March 14 appears the following article :

"Public notice is hereby given that the subscriber, in consequence of repeated solicitation, has been induced to lay out a town on the east side of Susquehanna about four miles above Harris Ferry in Paxtang Township, Lancaster County, the situation whereof has many great qualities to recommend it, more than any other town heretofore erected in Pennsylvania. It is on a high level bank which commands a beautiful prospect of the river. The inhabitants along the Susquehanna for a considerable distance above Wyoming as far as Bedford may convey their produce to this place by water. The subscriber will attend April 2, to dispose of lots by way of ballot, on reasonable terms.

"JOHN COX, JR."

The towns which today would coincide with the site above mentioned are Lucknow, 3½ miles above Harrisburg; or Rockville, 5 miles above Harrisburg. Whether this project of John Cox resulted in the beginning of one of these present towns, need not now be decided.

Pennsylvania conditions are set forth in an item, containing a letter on the subject, in the issue of March 21. The letter is dated Philadelphia. It states, "The price of country produce is low, and likely to be lower. The islands which are our only market for flour are too small to take off the quantity we can spare. The army, which has hitherto kept up the price of meats for several years, is now removed, consequently the profits of grazing must be less than in times past. The late Act of Parliament has so cramped the exportation of lumber that nothing is to be made that way, for being shut out of Ireland, Spain and Lisbon, we have nowhere to send them, except in the islands which must have them at their own price. Hemp and flax then remain, to the cultivation of which, I am glad you and so many of your neighbors have given thought and attention. The country will quickly experience the advantage of it. The price of flax seed is so high that it alone might encourage raising of flax; nor is there any danger of it ever becoming a drug. The quality of our flax seed is better than that anywhere else grown." (The letter then continues dilating upon the profits of flax.)

In the issue of April 5 are set forth two sheriff sales: that of Crawford's Tavern in Drumore on the Great Road from Lancaster to Charlestown; and John Stoner's mill property in Conestogoe.

As to the latter, the sheriff says, there is erected on this land a complete mill, with two pair of stones, fit for merchant and country business and a complete saw-mill, having an excellent situation, on Pequea Creek, with plenty of water and 200 acres of land. Also a copper mine might be opened on it as there is plenty of copper ore, there.

The issue of April 18 contains a full copy of the "Stamp Act." It covers a whole page and the page is surrounded with the black lines of mourning.

In the issue of May 2 there is an advertisement stating that "Good Lancaster hemp is to be had at Dan Wister's store on Market Street, Philadelphia."

The issue of May 30 sets forth that the first great highway Act of the Province has just been passed.

In the issue of June 20 appear several articles on the Stamp Act, denouncing the same.

The issue of August 8 contains a news item stating that the Quakers of the Province are holding their general meeting in Lancaster this year; and that much important business is being attended to.

The issue of August 15 states that Lieutenant Frazer was cut off by a lot of Indians under command of Pontiac. This is contained in a letter dated Lancaster. The writer states, "The fate of Lieutenant Frazer is no longer to be doubted. Yesterday the intelligence was received from a Seneca Indian Chief who had been called to a meeting lately, held at one of their villages near the Lakes, when he was informed by the Ottawas that after Lieutenant Frazer got to the Illinois, he sent messengers to the different nations residing near that place, to acquaint them of his arrival; and that their brethren the English expected they would come to council with them. But Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, immediately on receiving the message called all the Indians under his influence to the Illinois and ordered the French commanding officer there to deliver up the Englishmen to him, as he had prepared a large kettle in which to boil them, and all other Englishmen that came that way. The French endeavored to pacify him and said the Englishmen had come for peace and to make peace with all Indians. But he said it was not true; and ordered his warriors to seize all the English and all the Indians that were with them, which they did, and carried them off bound, having cut off the ears and fingers of a Six Nation Indian. Pontiac told the French that he had been informed that Mr. Croghan was coming that way to treat with his Indians; and that he would keep the kettle boiling over a large fire to receive him on his arrival. There is a great deal of reason to credit the above account."

This item serves to show the general character of this savage warfare. It also has some local importance, because of the Frazer connections at Lancaster.

The issue of August 29 contains an account of an isolated shipload of 240 Palatines from Rotterdam under Captain Porter. The rush of Palatines had practically ceased before this date, that is, the Swiss Palatines. The arrival of these was quite an unusual immigration at this time.

Murders were quite numerous in the early days. The issue of September 5 sets out that at the Oyer and Terminer Court of Lancaster, Michael Grissbach received sentence of death for killing a nine-year-old child; at Carlisle, John Mooney received the same sentence for the murder of a peddler named Gray; and at York Elizabeth Edwin the same for the murder of her small child.

In the issue of September 12 the systematic opposition to the carrying out of the Stamp Act, which was to go into operation November 1, is first noticed. While the Stamp Act excitement is not strictly local, I venture to insert it here, because I believe that none of us have any knowledge of the particular events, which make up the history of this first frustration of Britain's policy of imposition on America, though we know from our school histories the general result of America's efforts against stamps.

In this issue it is stated that "our Assembly now sitting have agreed to appoint a committee of three members to attend at New York on the 1st of next month to join with and assist at the General Congress to be held there for remonstrating to the Crown against the Stamp Duties and other burdens

laid upon the colonies by late acts of Parliament. The gentlemen appointed for this service are the Speaker (Mr. Dickinson), Mr. Bryan and Mr. Morton.

The issue of September 19 tells of Boston's excitement because of the stamps; also of a meeting held at Newport to protest, and the speech of the town clerk; and also of the action of Pennsylvania's Assembly remonstrating with the Crown; and sending delegates to the General Congress.

The issue of September 26 details how the town of Dumfries, in Virginia, paraded their "stamp distributor" in effigy with a halter about his neck, and then hanged him in effigy. It also tells how the trees were decorated in Boston with large placards "Tree of Liberty," etc., etc., and that the citizens will meet at Faneuil Hall and take action. Also that our committee at once set out for the New York General Congress.

The issue of October 10 gives an account of the arrival of a ship with stamps in Boston Harbor; and of the refusal of Mr. Oliver, stamp distributor, to serve and of his resignation. It also sets out that the governor's chief concern was how to prevent the destruction of the stamps. The article also says the governor was concerned about how to take care that stamps for New Hampshire and Rhode Island should not be destroyed. The Assembly informed him that it would be of ill consequence to them to interest themselves in that matter of protecting the stamps at all.

The issue also states that John Hughs, appointed stamp distributor for Pennsylvania, declares and publicly states that he will do nothing toward putting the law into operation. This was in reply to a demand made by a "great number of citizens assembled at the State House" directed to request of him an answer. He also declined to act for Maryland. The people gave three grand huzzas; but many think he ought to have resigned absolutely. The article also states that Captain Hawker has taken the stamped paper upon his majesty's ship, and this alone prevented their destruction. "We have simply followed our fellow suffering colonists. All men of moderation congratulate the colony and counsel that we should not commit any unnecessary act of violence," says the article.

In the same issue it is stated that at a meeting of the lawyers at the Supreme Court held at Perth Amboy the Chief Justice asked whether the lawyers would agree to purchase the stamps. They resolved that they would suffer their business to go to pieces rather than do so. They also passed several other fine resolves.

The local election returns appear in the same issue: For Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, James Webb and Jacob Carpenter. For sheriff, John Barr and James Webb; for coroner, Mathias Slough and Samuel Atlee.

In the issue of October 17 appear eight manly resolutions, passed by Maryland against using stamps. The main contention was that Magna Charta did not allow any taxation not laid by the subject's consent; which the Stamp Act violated.

The issue of October 24 states that the General Congress at New York is at an advance state and that its proceedings will be published in a week; and that all is harmonious.

The issue of October 31 (the day before the going into effect of the

Stamp Act) is in deep mourning. It states, "We are sorry to acquaint our readers that as the most unconstitutional act that ever these colonies could have imagined, the Stamp Act, is feared to be obligatory upon us after the first day of November, the fatal tomorrow, the publishers of this paper, unable to bear the burden thought it expedient to stop awhile, in order to deliberate whether any method can be framed to elude the chains forged for them and to escape the insupportable slavery thereof, which relief, it is hoped (from the just representations now made against the Act) may be effected."

But there was an issue of November 6 and in it great headlines "No Stamped Paper to Be Had." It also sets forth that Philadelphia merchants have agreed not to import any goods from Britain. It also states that on Friday, November 1, our bells in Philadelphia were rung muffled and demonstrations of great grief were shown on every hand.

In the issue (Remarkable Occurrences) November 13 the complaints of the colonists as framed by the Philadelphia people are, that Great Britain outrages us:

1. In not allowing us to trade with France and Spain;
2. Keeping us heavily in debt to England; and
3. Further oppressing us with the Stamp Act.

It was then resolved,

4. That we will take no goods from Great Britain till the Stamp Act is repealed;
5. All orders given are countermanded;
6. No business at all will be had with England till May next—date of expected expiration of Stamp Act; and that
7. These resolves be signed everywhere, in the Province.

The issue of November 21 contains the Massachusetts and New Hampshire resolves, and the Williamsburg and the Connecticut resolves and the Boston action. Also the statement that the Pennsylvania distributor was forced to resign absolutely.

The issue of November 28 describes the meeting of the people of Plymouth, denouncing the Stamp Act. It contains an item giving the news that the people of England demand its repeal, because their trade is crippled by it.

The issue of December 5 contains an advertisement of sale of Charles Stedman's interest in Elizabeth Furnace with its 10,124 acres, his interest in Charming Forge, Berks County, in one third part of the town of Manheim, Lancaster County, and in many other lands.

The issue of December 12 gives an extract of a letter from Northampton, to the effect that the magistrates of that county determined to proceed with the execution of their legal business without regard for the Stamp Act. It also contains the manly resolve of Talbot County, Maryland, to wit: that the people still love George III; but that the Royal Charter gives Maryland full and free liberty; that trials by jury and private property may not be taken away from them except by their own consent; that the Stamp Act is tyranny; and that they will hazard their lives to have it repealed or to evade it.

This issue also announces the publication of a pamphlet "Considerations On the Propriety Of Imposing Taxes In The British Colonies For the Purpose

of Raising Revenue, by Act of Parliament." It is stated that "This pamphlet is a most masterly vindication of the rights of the colonies; and also is a statement of the nature of the jurisdiction that Great Britain has over them."

The issue of December 19 states that the Stamp Act has gone into operation in Quebec; and that New York people have gotten some of the stamps as souvenirs.

The issue of December 26 has an article to the effect that at a public meeting in Frederick, Maryland, the judges and justices resolved that all the business of the Courts should go on without stamps. But the clerk of Court refused to comply with this decision. The Court ordered him in prison, in contempt. He yielded and was discharged. It was conceded that the above act of the judges killed the Stamp Act there, and the populace proceeded to hold a public funeral over it. The Sons of Liberty took the lead. A parade was formed, carrying many banners and transparencies and the coffin with the dead act. On its cover was inscribed "The Stamp Act expired of a mortal stab received from the genius of Liberty in Frederick County Court, Nov. 23. 1765—aged 22 days." The procession marched through the principal streets till it arrived at a gallows erected on the Court House Green, where amid tolling bells the stamp distributor was hanged in effigy, and buried.

In Lancaster County no attention was paid to the Stamp Act. The dockets show that the business went on as if nothing had happened. The Act was repealed in May, 1766. Robert Fulton was foreman of the Grand Jury (father of the inventor). Thirteen constables were afraid to report to Court because of the Stamp Act. They were fined 10 shillings each. (See Docket No. 3.)

1766.

In the issue of February 6 a news item sets forth that the Northampton County Justices closed the Courts on account of the Stamp Act; but that the people forced them to be opened again, which was done.

Likewise, as shown in the issue of February 20, Berks County closed up her courts till the middle of February, and then opened up for business again. In the same issue it appears that the New Jersey gentlemen of the law met at New Brunswick to consider resuming practice. They were undecided in the matter till the Sons of Liberty appeared at the meeting, and derided the delay, when they quickly decided to ignore the Stamp Act. It is also set forth in the same issue that the Maryland and Virginia authorities are ignoring and defying the Stamp Act; but that North Carolina obeyed it.

In the same issue appears the local court news that at our Oyer and Terminer Court Fred Stoner was found guilty of killing his servant, the verdict being manslaughter. He was burnt in the hand and otherwise properly sentenced. Ann Tew was tried for counterfeiting, found guilty, and ordered pilloried, cropped and whipped.

In the issue of February 27 John Gibbons advertises for sale his 300 acres of land of limestone on Mill Creek.

In the issue of March 13 there is an item stating that the Northampton County Court of Virginia handed down an opinion holding that the Stamp Act does not reach or affect them, nor in any way bind Virginia.

The same issue contains an article on William Pitt's great speech, holding that the Stamp Act is unconstitutional, and violates Magna Charta and not binding. The various colonies prepare to erect statues of him in every Province.

The issue of April 3 contains a copy of the resolutions passed at the General Congress at New York, October 19, 1765, against the Stamp Act.

The issue of April 24 states that this is "Locust Year." Also, there is in the same issue the news that the House of Commons allowed Benjamin Franklin to speak before the Commons on the rights and privileges of the colonies; and against the Stamp Act, while the Commons were considering its repeal. It was repealed May 1, by a vote of 275 to 167, having been in force six months.

This is perhaps the only instance in which the British Parliament allowed the Colonists to be represented in that body.

In the issue of May 22 it is stated that the ship *Minerva*, in charge of Captain Wise, brought the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act. When she landed and the King's printer read it aloud at the coffee house, wild huzzas rent the air; and a delegation went down to wait on Captain Wise. A large bowl of punch was ready, and the captain was presented with a gold laced hat.

The inhabitants appointed the evening to illuminate the city, which was done, and the houses had a beautiful appearance. The ladies helped greatly to work out different devices in lighting. A large quantity of wood for a bonfire was given; as were also many barrels of beer for refreshment. The principal inhabitants gave an elegant entertainment at the State House, at which the governor and officers of the government appeared. Captain Hawker and many gentlemen of the navy were present. The honors of the table were performed by the mayor, assisted by the aldermen. Three hundred plates were laid. Many toasts were drunk. (See the list in the above stated issue. Space forbids setting them out here.)

The issue of July 14 sets out that a meeting of the Juliana Library will be held September 15 in the library rooms to select a treasurer and librarian. By order of the Directors.

In the issue of October 2 an item states that some persons maliciously and falsely accuse Benjamin Franklin of not acting in the interest of the people of the colonies, against the Stamp Act when before Parliament.

The issue of October 9 contains the local election returns; for Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, James Webb and Jacob Carpenter; for sheriff, John Barr and James Webb, Jr.; for coroner, Mathias Slough and John Ferree.

The issue of December 18 makes reference to Nicholas Houser, the hatter of Lancaster, and Paul Metzgar, the stocking weaver. Just where these men carried on business is not stated.

1767.

Nothing of local interest appears this year, till the issue of October 8, containing the local election returns as follows: For Assembly, Emanuel Car-

penter, James Wright, Jacob Carpenter and James Webb; for sheriff, James Webb, Jr., and Fred Stone; for coroner, Mathias Slough and Adam Reigert.

The issue of October 15 contains an article "Melancholy State of Affairs in England." It sets out that there is great heat in Parliament and in England generally over American affairs. The English political parties are called "Americans" (in reproach), being the party led by Pitt; and "Adherents of England," the opposite party.

In the issue of October 22 there is notice of a German Lutheran Lottery in Earl Township, for the improvement of their property.

Also a notice by Samuel Campbell, in Lancaster jail for debt, appears to the effect that he is wrongly imprisoned and has been so imprisoned for seventeen months; and that any persons having debts against him shall present the same or be forever barred. (That is a long imprisonment for inability to pay one's debts.)

In the issue of November 12 there is an item on the mysterious disappearance of John Long, the storekeeper of Chestnut Level. The item has no importance except that it describes the dress of those days, stating that Long wore a brown coat, a black cotton velvet jacket, leather breeches, plain square silver buckles on his shoes. He carried a silver watch. The "Harp and Crown" was the Philadelphia Hotel where he stopped. This hotel was on Third Street, it is stated.

In the issue of December 10 the famous "Farmer's Letters" begin to appear. These were written by Jonathan Dickinson; and they had a wonderful effect in crystallizing the Spirit of Independence.

1768.

In the issue of February 4 Curtis and Peter Grubb complain in a public notice dated Lancaster, January 18, 1768, that "the subscribers take this method of informing the public, especially who deal in bar iron, that the public as well as the subscribers have been grossly imposed upon by persons who have sold bar iron, as and for the subscriber's iron, which was neither as good a quality nor so well drawn as that which they have heretofore made, and do now make. In order, therefore, that a stop may be put to such impositions and that the character of the subscribers' iron may be supported, notice is hereby given that every bar that leaves their forges for the future will be stamped with the letters C. & P. G. The subscribers therefore hope by such means fraud may be prevented and the public be no longer abused; and that the character of their iron will be restored to its former credit.

"CURTIS AND PETER GRUBB."

In the issue of May 12 there is a letter from Lancaster dated May 5, 1768. eulogizing Dickinson's Farmer's Letters. The writer says, "It is a precept often inculcated in these letters to unite in the cause of liberty; to assert ourselves immediately and unanimously in the most firm but peaceful manner for obtaining relief. The sacred cause of liberty should be espoused by every man on every occasion, to the utmost of his power. Delays are dangerous and injurious. We are now in a situation as bad as the time of the Stamp

Act. And all the prudent measures used then, should be used now." Signed "A Freeborn American."

In the same issue, from Newport, R. I., there is a letter, an extract of which says, "The Farmer of Pennsylvania is almost adored in this colony. We toast him next to Chatham and Cambden as the American Pitt." The name American to designate the colonists is here used almost the first time.

In the issue of June 9 there is advertised a sale of a property on Queen Street, Lancaster, 21½ feet by 245 feet to a 14 feet wide alley. The property is improved by a two-story brick house and kitchen, with a Dutch stove. At the foot of the garden is a brick shop; and at the end thereof a log stable and chair house. The dwelling adjoins the dwelling in which George Ross lives and but a few feet from the Court House in the center of the town. Another lot on Orange St., 64 by 245 feet, near where Edw. Shippen lives, with a two-story brick house; also an oven in the yard are mentioned. Also on the edge of the Boro, there is offered for sale a ten acre lot with a distillery. To be sold by Walter Shee of Philadelphia.

In the issue of June 16 a Chester County farmer suggests that we should wear only clothes made from our own grown wool, as we did during the Stamp Act. We should refuse to buy any English goods.

In the issue of June 23 there is detailed the great hailstorm, which is also described in Rupp, p. 369. I therefore give only a few glimpses of what the article contains. It is stated that some hailstones were 9 inches in circumference. They were heavily charged with electricity. The storm swept over Susquehanna River, through Lancaster County, and to Dunkertown and on between the Welsh Hill and the Reading Hills. In parts not a single head of wheat or rye is standing. At Dunkertown cattle were killed by it. At Muddy Creek calves, pigs and fowls were killed. Birds are dead in the woods and the trees are barked by it. The oldest person living never saw or heard of anything like it.

In the issue of July 7 there is a full description of a self regulating furnace invented by William Henry, sent by him to the Society for Promoting Useful knowledge of Philadelphia. Also a drawing of same. Very ingenious.

The local election returns are given in the issue of October as follows: Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, Jacob Carpenter and George Ross; for sheriff, James Webb and Fred Stone; for coroner, Mathias Slough and John Ferree; for commissioner, John Carpenter; for assessors, Casper Kare, Geo. McCullough, Wm. Davis, James Wilson, John Hopson and Peter Lite.

The issue of December 1 states that at the Philadelphia College, Daniel Kuhn of Lancaster was given degree of A.M.

1769.

In the issue of January 12 the committee of grievances are set forth containing the following Lancaster men: Geo. Ross, Jacob Carpenter, Thomas Minshall (on Octoraro). Other members are Pawling, Pemberton, Watson, Jacobs, Montgomery, Biddle and Taylor.

In the issue of February 2 there is set forth the statement of the trade,

export and import, between America and England. England exported to America ten million pounds sterling in five years, the trade growing from one and a half million pounds in 1761 to two and a quarter millions in 1765. In the same time there was shipped from America to England about half as much in the aggregate, and about half as much annually.

The issue of July 20 states that a shipload of goods came to Philadelphia for Amos Strettel from England and the citizens protested against him receiving them. He apologized for buying them and sent them back. The citizens were indignant, as it was the first attempt to violate the agreement of February 6 and of March 10. A large meeting was held at the State House and a resolve was passed that Strettel was a violator of the American Spirit. The brewers for whom he imported the goods (which was malt) were present and resolved that as the goods were sent against the former resolves they would have nothing to do with them.

The only local importance this item has, lies in the fact that Strettel owned about 3,000 acres of land on Pequea, adjoining the original tract of 6,400 acres taken up by the first Swiss settlers, on the south.

The issue of October 12 contains the local election returns as follows: For Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, Jacob Carpenter, James Webb and George Ross; for sheriff, James Webb, Jr., and Fred Stone; for coroner, Adam Reigart and John Ashbridge; for assessors, Thos. Clark, Samuel Bear, Alex. Martin, Casper Shaffner, Thos. Clark, Jr., and Fred Hummell.

The issue of October 26 sets forth a denial by George Ross and by his friends, in Assembly, of a charge against him, that he was in favor of crippling the liquor business of Lancaster County, by having a heavy tax put upon it. This attack upon liquor was apparently very unpopular in those days, and the incident was likely to put an end to George Ross's political career. Therefore he gave this public notice.

"TO THE FREEHOLDERS AND INHABITANTS OF LANCASTER COUNTY:

"Gentlemen—

"Having for a number of years lived among you and received many testimonies of your esteem and regard, it gave me great concern that an attempt was lately made to induce you to consider me as designing to injure you in the House of Assembly where I have the honor to represent you. I pity the man who, regardless of truth wrote and propagated reports injurious to me and out of compassion for him will not publish his name; but for your satisfaction, I have inserted the following certificate. I am gentlemen, etc.,

"GEORGE ROSS."

The certificate is as follows:

"Whereas we the subscribers, members of the late and present Assembly of Pennsylvania, have received information, that some person or persons, wickedly designing and intending to hurt and injure the reputation and character of George Ross, Esq., one of the members of Assembly, for Lancaster County, by saying and publishing to many of the inhabitants of that county, that he, the said George Ross, in the late Assembly, last month, approved of having a tax laid on all Stills in the said County of Lancaster and had there declared, that two thousand pounds could annually be raised by excise on

the town of Lancaster and six miles around it. The said George Ross for his vindication in this particular, hath requested us to certify our knowledge of this matter. In Justice therefore, to the character of the said George Ross we the members of Assembly aforesaid, do certify and declare to all persons whomsoever, that the report aforesaid and every part thereof, is false, and without the least foundation in truth. And we do further declare, that no motion, to that effect or purpose, was ever made by the said George Ross, or any other person or persons whomsoever in Assembly, or any other place, in our hearing or to our knowledge or belief."

Signed by: Joseph Fox, Joseph Galloway, Rowland Evans, Thomas Livezey, Henry Pawling, Samuel Potts, Emanuel Carpenter, Michael Hillegas, William Rodman, Joseph Watson, Henry Krewsen, John Brown, Giles Knight, Peter Shepperd, Benj. Chapman, George Ashbridge, Charles Humphreys, Isaac Pearson, John Sellers, John Jacobs, Jr., John Crosby, James Pemberton and John Ross.

(Liquor could certainly command respect in those days; and demand an immunity from taxation, that is surprising, when compared with the temper of our times.)

1770.

The issue of January 18 contains a list of the number of houses in Philadelphia at different periods, 1749 there were 2,076 houses; in 1753 there were 2,300; in 1760 there were 2,969; in December, 1769, there were 3,318, as follows: Mulberry Ward, 920; Upper Delaware, 234; North Ward, 417; High Street Ward, 166; Middle Ward, 358; Chestnut Ward, 112; South Ward, 117; Walnut Ward, 105; Lower Ward, 120; Dock Ward, 739. The Northern Liberties had 553 and South Wark had 603, a total together with those suburbs of 4,474 houses.

The issue of March 15 gives us an item on the growth of silkworm culture in Pennsylvania at this time. The article is a long one and I here use only a part of it. It is stated that the worms are hatched toward the end of April. A large number of people in the different parts have turned their thoughts to this subject. "We have heard of 64 families who have made beginning. Many of them last year raised 10,000 to 20,000 worms. One woman in Chester County raised 30,000. The want of a sufficient number of persons to reel silk, and the want of a market for the sale of silk balls hinders us. About 100,000 cocoons were spoiled because those who tried to reel it did not understand it."

The issue of March 22 contains a report of the Boston massacre. In a short account of the massacre, Captain Preston is accused of waiving his sword and commanding "Fire."

Then a longer account follows, and states that the British troops also attempted to kill those who were removing the dead. The list of dead are Samuel Gray, killed on the spot; the ball entering his head and tearing off a large part of the skull.

A mulatto named Crispus Attucks, born in Birmingham, but lately belonging to New Providence, killed instantly, two balls entering his breast; one through the lungs and another tore horribly his liver.

James Caldwell, mate of Captain Morton's vessel, killed. Two balls entered his back.

Samuel Maverick, a youth of seventeen, son of a widow, an ivory turner, mortally wounded. The ball entered his belly and come out at his back. Died the next morning.

There was also wounded a lad seventeen years old named Christopher Moak. The ball entered his back four inches below the kidneys; and he will die. John Clark, aged seventeen, also was wounded, the ball entering the pit of his abdomen and emerging at his hip. Edward Payne, a merchant, standing at his door was wounded, the ball shattering a bone in his arm. John Green, a tailor, was wounded, the ball striking him in the hip. Robert Patterson was injured, the ball going through his right arm. Patrick Carr, a leather breeches maker, thirty years old, was wounded in the hip. David Parker, an apprentice boy, was wounded near the hip.

A great town meeting was held; and action was taken amid great indignation. Thursday, the following dead were carried to their grave: Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell and Crispus Attucks. Most of the shops were shut up. All the bells of Boston tolled and also those of the neighboring towns. The bodies were deposited in one vault, in the *Middle Burying Ground*.

The vault where these first persons to spill their blood in the cause of American Liberty were placed, if it is preserved to this day, would surely be a spot worth while visiting. March 5, 1770, will ever be the first great day in the Revolutionary War.

In the issue of April 12 there is set out a method of culturing silkworms from maggots obtained by mixing, in a stone vessel, a quantity of veal and mulberry leaves, standing it in a warm and not too damp cellar and placing over it a sweated shirt worn by a man. After a few weeks maggots will be formed and as they eat the mulberry leaves they will become silkworms.

The issue of May 10 contains Alexander Stedman's advertisement of sale of many properties, among them Elizabeth Furnace with 23 tracts of land and Charming Forge with eight tracts; also many horses and a general equipment for manufacturing iron. Charming Forge has a capacity of 300 tons of bar iron annually.

In the issue of May 24 the effect of non-importation is set out. In 1767 the colonies imported from England two and a third million sterling worth of merchandise; but by 1769 it dropped to one and a half million pounds sterling. Pennsylvania dropped off from 432,000 pounds to 199,000 pounds; New England from 419,000 to 207,000 pounds; and New York from 482,000 to 74,000 pounds.

In the issue of June 7 the itinerary of Rev. George Whitfield is set forth, stating that he sets out from Philadelphia for Reading and Lancaster, etc.

In the issue of June 14 there is a letter from William Atlee, Esq., reporting to the American Philosophical Society, the quantity of homespun manufactures of the Province, and particularly as to Lancaster Boro from May 1, 1769, to May 1, 1770. The Society hoped that other sections would imitate the industry of Lancaster. In justice to one mistress of a Lancaster family it is observed that although she has the care of one of the genteelst and best accustomed public houses in the Boro, yet above 600 yards are to her credit. The list of goods manufactured is as follows: 1,058 yards of diaper.

3,744 yards of striped cotton, 4,091 yards of flax linen, 8,877 yards of hemp linen, 543 yards of woollen and worsted clothing, 1,060 yards of checker linen, 1,394 yards of linsey, 288 yards of blankets and coverlids, 4,232 yards of tow linen, 836 yards of bed tick, 596 yards of fustian, Wilton and such clothing; 899 yards of sheeting and 121 yards of curtains—a total of 27,739 yards.

The letter continues and says that the stuffs in the looms amount to 6,000 or 7,000 yards more; and the yarn, as it is called, of different kinds which is now in the houses of the inhabitants ready to be sent to the weavers is sufficient for several thousand yards more.

The list does not include all that has been made by the inhabitants in the above time, as by insinuation of some foolish persons it has been infused into the minds of the people that the design of the inquiry was to have a tax laid on the spinning wheels, which report made a great number of the people very cautious and caused them to refuse to make return for fear of being taxed for their industry. "When we compare the number of families in the list with the number of housekeepers we have, and consider that there are very few amongst us without one wheel or more, pretty well employed (so great is the spirit for homespun in the Boro) I may safely say that more than 30,000 yards have been actually delivered since May 1, 1769, to May 1, 1770. A great deal of it, both linens and woolens, is very pretty."

"The looms employed in the town I did not at the start think of taking account of; but I find that there are nearly 30 or 40 persons of that trade in the town who have at least 50 looms constantly employed. I neglected to take the number of spinning wheels in each family; but there are more than 700 in use amongst us. Many of our good housewives are greatly pleased at my having made this inquiry, and say that the year 1770 will produce a much greater output. There is rivalry too. I am frequently called on by the good women to know how much Mrs. such a one and Mrs. such a one has made, and I have need of the list as I have no copy.

Your humble servant,

WILLIAM ATLEE."

Along with the list of goods, Mr. Atlee sent a list of each family in Lancaster who made the goods and the number of yards each of them made, together with the amount of yarn in the house at the time.

Note: The town of Lancaster had about 700 houses in 1770, or about 2,800 inhabitants. A wheel in almost every house.

The issue of June 28 contains Lancaster's protest against the grievances they endure and the clouds approaching, owing to the acts of England against the colonies. It is dated Lancaster, June 19, 1770, and sets forth:

"We the inhabitants of Lancaster, as well merchants and traders as others, sensible of the great blessings and peculiar privileges we and the other inhabitants of the Province have enjoyed, under our charter, and desirous that we should contribute our mite to transmit the same to posterity, cannot sit unmoved at the attempts, made to deprive us of the liberty we and our ancestry have so highly esteemed and gloried in. The cloud that once hung over our heads, by the ever detestable Stamp Act, being dispelled by its repeal filled us with love and gratitude for our mother country; and we

fondly hoped that the motive for the repeal was founded in the free spirit of Englishmen. But alas! we have reason to fear from the late revenue acts passed in England that the principle of Freedom and Justice had no part or share in that repeal. The same reasons which prompted the merchants and tradesmen of British North America to cease from importing goods and manufactures of Britain when laboring under the Odious Stamp Act, subsists if possible more strongly at present and plainly dictates the necessity of persevering in the same noble resolution at this juncture of sacrificing our immediate gains for the future good. We would deem ourselves unworthy of the blessings of Freedom if we could tamely view our situation as calm spectators, when we are threatened with the loss of freedom and property.

"And therefore in support of the same we do unanimously enter into the following declarations and resolutions, the whole people of the county fully concurring with us:

"We do declare and profess the most sincere loyalty and affection for our lawful and rightful sovereign King George III and his most illustrious House; and we further declare that we look on all constitutional acts of the British legislature as binding on us.

"But we conceive that Acts of Parliament made to tax us or any other of our fellow subjects in North America for the purpose of raising a revenue to be unconstitutional, and oppressive, and therefore we ought to use all lawful and justifiable ways and means for procuring a repeal of such unconstitutional acts.

"We apprehend it a duty we owe to the sacred shrine of Freedom in the time of danger (though we inhabit no seaport town) to testify our approbation of the measures taken by the Colonies for procuring a repeal of those acts so destructive to that glorious liberty handed down to them and so to us by our ancestors and which as freemen and descendants of Britons we have a right to, and cannot be lawfully disfranchised of, but with our own or the consent of our legal representatives.

"We sincerely and heartily approve of the conduct of the worthy and patriotic inhabitants and merchants of the City of Philadelphia for their firm and steady adherence to their non-importation agreement and fully rely on their perseverance.

"And we do declare and are resolved that should any inhabitant or inhabitants of this borough or county attempt to purchase and bring into the same any British Goods wares and merchandise, that cannot consistently with the non-importation agreement of the merchants of Philadelphia be brought into that port, from any other port, province or government, we will take care to store the same until a general importation shall again be agreed to, into the port of Philadelphia.

"And we further declare and resolve that if any person among us shall be so inimical to the freedom of America as to purchase and bring any such goods wares or merchandise into this Borough or County for sale we shall detest and abhor him and them as traitors to the interest of this country and never have any fellowship or correspondence with them or any of them;

and we will publish his or their names to the world to remain as a lasting monument of infamy.

"Signed by the Committee by Order of the Inhabitants.

"GEORGE ROSS,
ROBERT BOYD,
J. YEATES,
LUDWIG LAUMAN.
WILLIAM HENRY."

Addressed to

John Cox, Jr., John Gibson, Daniel Benezet, William Fisher, Geo. Roberts, Saml. Howell, James Mease, and others the Committee of Merchants of Philadelphia.

These brave souls, in every word of this memorial and protests, breathe a spirit of love and appreciation of the blessings that their ancestors brought and handed down to them. In our day, are we quite sure that we hold in proper regard and appreciation, the great things that our ancestors, those men and women of the past, have handed down to us? The blessings of any age are always partly a product of the ages preceding them. These fine old patriots bear the same relation to us, which those whom they so gratefully felt handed down a glorious liberty to them, bore to them.

I set this patriotic action of our early Lancaster fathers out at large because Rupp in his history of the county does not print it or make any mention of it. It must have escaped his research.

In the issue of August 9 there is another patriotic epistle from Lancaster on non-importation. It is signed "H. S." I do not know to whom the initials refer. This article is dated Lancaster Seventh Month 21, 1770. It is addressed to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, who it seems were gathering money all over the province to help sustain the non-importation agreement. The writer says: "In the Gazette of May 24, No. 2161 I read a small piece signed Plebarius, who makes a motion for helping to support the merchants to abide by their non-importation agreement. I approve the motion but not the method urged, which was by subscription, well knowing the heavy task, great difficulty and length of time it would take to raise the money which might be wanted in that affair, even though the people were generally willing; and not only that, but, by that way we in the country should bear the lightest end of that burden; for certain it is when trade fails in a city about all the inhabitants must suffer more or less with the merchants. Our produce sells as well as before, the grain being as good a price. And the money we used to lay out on tea is saved, and perhaps we shall hereafter save it, having found herbs both wild and tame, which answers as well, yea the same ends as Bohea; and our clothing we make. Though we dont look quite as fine with it, it answers the proper end, which is to keep us warm. I think it would be quite needless for every county throughout the Province to petition our General Assembly for a thing so clear to any man's understanding (fools only excepted). It is the cause of liberty and who dont know it? But I think if you in the city draw up a short remonstrance and petition to the Assembly they would surely help. They have been generous even to other colonies in case of necessity. Surely, then, to their own people and for so

great and laudable a cause in which liberty is a stake they might well expect the approbation of almost all their constituents. I think I could say for this county, almost in general, which is not the least of the counties, that it would be agreeable here. Why I would work at nights yea I would eat less, rather than have the inhabitants fail (now that they have begun), as it is reported, by our Country Britishers, that the merchants must and will break through their agreement if not helped. It is not reasonable they should be at all the cost of redeeming our lost liberties; neither can I think it just that, they should have all the praise. Well some may say, how shall they have help, justly according to their necessities and the public money not be wasted.

"I answer, our general assembly are a wise set of men and can order that safety. But some may be better satisfied, if I should propose a method, since I have said so much. Well the way I think of, is the Assembly to appoint three wise good men of the city, men of estates, such as know the nature of the case, who are zealous for the good cause, and let them convene with the inhabitants, and according as they find, so give orders on the Provincial Treasurer, who shall take receipts on their orders for money he gives out, to enable him to settle with the Assembly when called thereto. If our Assembly falls in to this method or any other, to help the merchants to abide their resolutions I dont doubt but the other Colonies will follow their example; and if so, the administration at home, will see, what they never yet saw, which is, that they never can and never will tire out the American Merchants, and force them to break their bonds of Union in so great a cause as Liberty. Their expectations of the trade falling into hands they can be sure of will also cease, when they find it is not one, or a few, but all, and that too, all together as one family, that oppose their laws.

"H. S."

This spirit of all classes and all sections helping the section or the class of people who had to bear the brunt, was a characteristic of the colonies from the very beginning, and pointed out the fact that Union was the means of their success; that union eventually meant "The United States of America." We should be very glad that Lancaster did not lack in the general cause.

In the issue of August 30 the political cards appear. Fred Stone and Samuel Atlee announce their candidacies. In the issue of September 6 Francis Bailey announces himself a candidate for sheriff on the platform "A friend of public justice and a lover of mankind"—a queer platform for a candidate for sheriff. In the same issue Jacob Carpenter asks the people not to elect him again.

In the issue of October 11 the local election returns are found as follows: For Assembly, Emanuel Carpenter, George Ross, James Wright and Jos. Ferree; for sheriff, Fred Stone and John Ferree; for coroner, Saml. Boyd and Andrew Graeff; for assessors, Alex. Martin, Thos. Clark (Drumore), Samuel Bare, Thos. Clark (Hanover), Val. Brenheisen and James Conyngham.

The same issue announces the death of the great Rev. George Whitfield; and the issue is in mourning for him. It states that he was Chaplain to the Right Honourable Countess of Huntingdon.

In the issue of December 13 there is a contest over the right to a wheat threshing machine, invented by a Chester County man.

In the issue of December 27 a Strasburg tailor complains that Wm. McNeil had him make him a coat and a jacket and then went off without taking them and paying for them. The bill was 3 pounds, 5 shillings and 7 pence. In the same issue the prices of commodities are given: wheat 6 shillings and 6 pence; middlings 15 s. and 6 d., ship bread the same, corn 3 shillings, flour 16 shillings 6 pence, beef 2 pounds and 15 shillings, pork 12 shillings and 6 pence, and bar iron 24 pounds (per ton?). The suit above mentioned was thus worth about as much as 10 bushels of wheat.

Officers of the Society for 1920.

PRESIDENT,

HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT,

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT,

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

MISS ADALINE B. SPINDLER.

ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY,

JOHN L. SUMMY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

TREASURER,

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LIBRARIAN,

HARRY STEHMAN, Jr.

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D. B. LANDIS,

GEORGE F. K. ERISMAN,

I. C. ARNOLD, Esq.,

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MRS. SARAH D. CARPENTER,

GEORGE STEINMAN,

MISS DAISY E. B. GRUBB,

PROF. HERBERT H. BECK.

In Memoriam.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER, D.D., LL.D., PH.D.

Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania, died March 15, 1919, at his home in Lancaster, and was buried March 19 in Greenwood Cemetery, Lancaster.

Dr. Schaeffer was a man of remarkable mental and intellectual power, great executive ability and wide learning. He was frank and straightforward in character and endowed with a high degree of shrewdness and practical common sense, directed by the inspiration of fine ideals. These qualities alone would naturally have made him an eminently successful man, but he added to them another, without which the most brilliant talents and accomplishments are often fruitless; he was thorough.

In all his life Dr. Schaeffer was guided by the principle that whatever was worth doing at all was worth doing thoroughly and right. The result was success in everything that he undertook.

A NATIVE OF BERKS COUNTY.

Dr. Schaeffer was born in Maxatawny township, Berks county, not far from Kutztown, on February 3, 1849, and was, therefore, in his seventy-first year. He was of German ancestry. Educated in Maxatawny Seminary, now the Keystone State Normal School, Kutztown; Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster; the Mercersburg Theological Seminary, and the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen and Leipzig; he later was a teacher at Mercersburg College and Franklin and Marshall College. For a period of sixteen years he was Principal of the Keystone State Normal School. In 1905 he was elected President of the National Educational Association at Asbury Park, N. J., and at various times he served as President of the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Association; Secretary of the National Council of Education; President of the Department of Superintendence of the National Association; President of the Pennsylvania-German Society; Chancellor of the Pennsylvania Chautauqua at Mount Gretna from 1901 to 1905, and was a member of the Pennsylvania Commission on Industrial Education.

MADE SCHOOL CHIEF IN 1893.

Dr. Schaeffer was commissioned State Superintendent of Public Instruction on June 1, 1893, by Governor Pattison, and re-commissioned in 1897, 1901, 1905, 1909, 1913 and 1917. He has broken all records in length of service in any State, and has so far outdistanced his nearest rival as State Superintendent that no one now living is likely to see any man in any State equal

his record. His length of service as State Superintendent is not his chief claim to distinction, for he is one of the few men who have been both President of the Department of Superintendents and of the National Educational Association, and is the only man who has made three programmes for the National Association.

EDITOR OF SCHOOL JOURNAL.

Dr. Schaeffer became editor of the Pennsylvania School Journal in 1893, and he has published a number of books, including two of unquestioned value to educators, "Thinking and Learning to Think," and "History of Education in Pennsylvania." As an editor he prepared Bible Readings for schools. Dr. Schaeffer was possessed of tremendous energy, and he put his whole force into whatever he did. During the absence of Dr. Brumbaugh as Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico in 1900-1901, Dr. Schaeffer served as lecturer of Pedagogy in the Graduate Department of the University of Pennsylvania.

AFFILIATED WITH LOCAL INSTITUTION.

The deceased was ex-officio a member of the Pennsylvania Dental Council of the Bureau of Medical Education, and licensure of the Bureau of Professional Education, and ex-officio President of the State Board of Education. Dr. Schaeffer, naturally, was closely identified with the Reformed educational institutions of our city, for he was Second Vice President and a Trustee of Franklin and Marshall College and a member of the Board of Visitors of the Lancaster Reformed Theological Seminary.

KNOWN OVER ENTIRE COUNTRY.

Dr. Schaeffer has lectured in nearly every State in the Union and has contributed unnumbered articles to educational and religious periodicals, among them the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Since coming to Lancaster in 1893 Dr. Schaeffer had been closely identified with the city's educational institutions. He was a familiar figure on our streets and at social gatherings.

HON. DAVID McMULLEN.

Judge David McMullen died Saturday, December 20, 1919, at the Lancaster General Hospital from pneumonia, only a few hours after the funeral of his wife, who passed away from the same disease that caused her husband's death.

The death of Judge McMullen removed one of the oldest practitioners at the Lancaster Bar, a jurist of ability, and a man of unusual strength of character. He was of an amiable disposition, and his courtesy and kindness made friends with all. He had the settlements of many estates, the most important being that of the late Miss Catherine Long, who gave the city a beautiful park and the Long Home.

The deceased was a native of Lancaster county, born near Mt. Hope, Rapho township, on October 20, 1844, being a son of James and Elizabeth Sheetz McMullen. His boyhood was spent on his father's farm, and his educa-

tion was received in the public schools, at the Vermont Episcopal School at Burlington, Vt., Yeates School and the Millersville State Normal School. He graduated from the latter institution in 1868. During the three years he attended that school he taught during the summer term, and immediately after graduating was called to the principalship of the public schools of Oil City, Pa., where he remained two years. During that time he read law, when his school duties permitted, with Hugh C. Graham, of Oil City. In 1870 he removed to Lancaster and finished his legal studies in the office of the late Samuel H. Reynolds, being admitted to the Bar in December, 1871. In due course of time he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court. He was ap assistant to his preceptor until the latter's death in 1889.

Judge McMullen served two terms in Common Council and was elected a member of the City School Board in 1889, continuing a Director until the non-partisan Board passed out of existence. He was President of the Board a number of years.

In 1892 Judge McMullen was appointed by Governor Pattison a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas to fill the unexpired term of Judge David W. Patterson, having taken the oath of office March 7 of that year.

The deceased was a member of St. James' Episcopal Church, where he was a Vestryman, many years, as well as treasurer of the Parish. He was a trustee many years of Yeates School and the Millersville State Normal School, having been appointed a trustee of his Alma Mater in 1893. Judge McMullen for many years was one of the staunchest supporters of the Lancaster General Hospital, having been President of the Board of Trustees many years.

Fraternally he was a member of the Royal Arcanum and of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, a Past Master and representative to the Grand Lodge of the latter organization.

The deceased was married January 6, 1874, to Miss Susan E. Lightner, daughter of Peter E. Lightner, of Lancaster township. They are survived by two daughters, Mary R. and Emily S., both at home.

A brother and sister also survive, Edward McMullen, of Penn township, and Mrs. Susanna Yeagley, of Lebanon.

The funeral was held from St. James' Episcopal Church, interment being made in Greenwood Cemetery.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

January 2, 1920.

The finances of the Lancaster County Historical Society for the year were as follows:

On hand January 1, 1919.....	\$138.26
Received from County Treasurer.....	200.00
Dues and Fees	353.00
Sale of Publications	14.75
Waste Paper	6.00
Total Receipts	<u>\$712.01</u>
Expenses—Rent	\$ 35.00
Service Flag	9.75
Annual Outing	31.75
State Federation Dues	2.00
Postage	20.00
Printing Pamphlets	382.79
Marking and Dyeing	4.76
Wages	9.00
	<u>\$495.05</u>
Balance January 1, 1920.....	216.96
	<u>\$712.01</u>

There is also in the possession of the Treasury the following Certificates of Deposit bearing interest at 4 per cent.:

	\$ 32.90 due January 8
	263.17 due March 4
	216.32 due March 9
	26.00 due March 9
	236.89 due July 18
	35.59 due December 8
Total.....	\$810.87

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Treasurer.

Librarian's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 2, 1920.

During the year 1919 the usual exchanges, about a score in number, have been regularly received and placed in the rooms of the Society. There have also been a considerable number of donations of books, pamphlets, pictures, relics of various sorts, and things of an historical character generally.

The number of books contained by the library today approximates 2,850. Various periodicals have been bound, as usual. The papers and books in the library shelves have been used generously by members and the general public, so that the library has performed a distinct and valuable service to the community.

Many inquiries along historical lines have been answered persons from a distance inquiring for information available through our valuable documents and books. This information has gone to many parts of the United States.

It can scarcely be expected that better quarters and display room for the museum will be forthcoming immediately, no matter how much desired; but in his capacity of curator as well as librarian, this official cannot refrain from reminding the Society of the urgent need for such a development if the possession of such articles is to be of the greatest possible educational advantage to the locality we represent and to visitors in our city. The least to be said, surely, is that it is the duty of one and all of us to keep our eyes open to any advantageous development in our midst that might further this desired end.

Very respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, Jr.,
Librarian.

Secretary's Annual Report.

LANCASTER, PA., January 2, 1920.

The year 1919 has been a fruitful one for the Society so far as original historical research articles are concerned, one of such character being read by members at practically every meeting. The membership of the Society increased somewhat, having about one dozen added to its numbers. The annual outing of the Society was held at Hon. H. Burd Cassel's Park near Marietta. Interest continues as usual in the affairs of the organization and the outlook for the future is bright.

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

Minutes of the January Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., January 2, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in their room at 7:40 P. M. with the President, Charles I. Landis, presiding.

The minutes of the December meeting were read and approved.

A communication from the retiring secretary, C. B. Hollinger, in the form of a brief review of the past year's work was read by the assistant secretary.

The treasurer submitted his annual report, which was received and ordered to be published in the pamphlet.

The President appointed Messrs. L. B. Herr, I. C. Arnold and H. L. Simon a committee to audit the treasurer's accounts of 1919.

On motion of D. F. Magee the treasurer was authorized to pay the rent of the room to October, 1920, and the State Federation Dues.

The Librarian's monthly report showed the following donations during December:

Pamphlet—Climate and Weather of San Diego, Cal., Chamber of Commerce of San Diego.

Wisconsin Magazine of History, December, 1919, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Service Medical Manual, United States War Department.

The Truth About Ireland and the Great War, Irish National Bureau.

November and December issues Struggling Russia.

A copy of Lancaster Life, May 3, 1890.

Copy of Christian Culture, Lancaster, February, 1892.

Program and Literature of Pennsylvania Society banquet, December 13, 1919.

Pennsylvania Life Insurance Report, 1917.

Report 1917 State Public Printing.

Pennsylvania State Treasurer's Annual Report, 1918.

Metal plates of local patriotic World War.

Posters from Lancaster Liberty Law Committee.

The report was received and the donations accepted.

The Librarian also read an annual report.

Miss Helen E. Hickman, who was nominated at the December meeting, was duly elected a member of the Society.

Election of officers and executive committee being next in order, the President requested the nominees to be read.

There being no opposition, D. F. Magee moved the Secretary cast the ballot. The motion was carried and the ballot cast. The following were declared elected:

President, Hon. Charles I. Landis; first vice-president, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.; second vice-president, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq.; recording secretary,

Miss Adaline B. Spindler ; assistant recording secretary, John L. Summy ; corresponding secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark ; treasurer, A. K. Hostetter ; librarian, Harry L. Stehman, Jr. ; executive committee, L. B. Herr, D. F. Magee, D. B. Landis, George F. K. Erisman, I. C. Arnold, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, Mrs. Sarah D. Carpenter, George Steinman, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, Herbert H. Beck.

H. Frank Eshleman reported that he had attended the fiftieth anniversary of the Berks County Historical Society and that it was a splendid affair.

The paper of the evening was read by Mr. H. Frank Eshleman on " Items of Local Interest published in the Penna. Gazette, 1761-1770."

It was discussed by the President and others. A vote of thanks was extended to the writer and the paper was referred to the proper committee for publication.

The President appointed the following committees for the ensuing year :
Library Committee : I. C. Arnold, Esq., D. D. Landis and Miss Adaline B. Spindler.

Committee on Papers : F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., L. B. Herr and Miss Martha B. Clark.

J. L. SUMMY,
Assistant Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE OLD PEQUEA PRESBYTERIAN GRAVEYARD,

BY WILLIAM FREDERIC WORNER.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 2.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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The Old Pequea Presbyterian Graveyard.

BY WILLIAM FREDERIC WORNER.

"We come into this world with the mark of our descent and with our characters about us."—Le Sage.

When Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, the Presbyterians of Scotland and Ireland were persecuted with great severity. Attempts were made during the reign of this monarch and that of his successor, James II, to establish the Church of England in Scotland and destroy the religious system universally established and dearly cherished by a people devoted to king and country.¹ These attempts were pursued by persecutions as mean, cruel and savage as any which have disgraced the annals of religious bigotry. These persistent and enduring Presbyterians having suffered the extreme of cruelty and oppression escaped to Ireland, where many of their countrymen had preceded them, and located in the counties of Down, Londonderry and Antrim.² From this part of Ireland multitudes fled to America, and took refuge in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. They were Protestants and generally Presbyterians; few Irish Catholics emigrated to America until after the Revolution. Most of these immigrants settled in Pennsylvania. By the year 1729, six thousand Scotch-Irish had arrived in the Province.³

The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania soon realized that these Scotch-Irish were a sturdy, industrious and frugal people, and that where they settled the region would undoubtedly develop into a rich and flourishing country. They had made ample provision for securing the rights of conscience and the result was that some of the earliest churches in this country of the Presbyterian order were established in the Province.

Religious liberty in Pennsylvania was secured by the following enactment:

"That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever."

As a result of this liberal provision, settlements of Scotch-Irish began early and rapidly to be formed in different parts of the Province. Presbyterian congregations were organized and meeting houses erected, usually in

¹ History of Leacock Church by Rev. P. J. Timlow, p. 7.

² History of Upper Octorara Church by J. Smith Futhy, p. 30.

³ Proud's History of Pennsylvania.

close proximity to a stream of water or a large spring.⁴ The reason for this is obvious. The settlers in that day were battling with stern realities. Conveyances were not common; most of the traveling was done on horseback, and over roads that were often little more than trails through the forests. Meeting houses were few in number and far apart. Many of the settlers came a long distance to worship and remained all day; this is why a site was chosen where water was available.

A settlement of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians was made in what is now known as the fertile valley of Pequea in Salisbury township about the year 1720. Tradition—ever an unsafe guide—tells us that the lowlands were then covered with a heavy forest in which the Indian roamed in “fancy free.”⁵

These Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had located here but a short time when they organized a congregation—probably as early as 1724—though in the absence of the early records this cannot be authenticated. The first pastor was undoubtedly the Rev. Adam Boyd. A call for his services as pastor was presented in 1724 by “Cornelius Rowan and Arthur Park, representatives of the people of Acterara and Pickqua.”⁶

The first meeting house was built of logs, tradition tells us, and stood near a large white oak tree which may yet be seen in the center of the old graveyard. This building must have been erected shortly after the congregation was organized. William Clark, donor of the land on which the church stands, stated in his will signed September 7, 1732:

“I leave and bequeath to my dearly Beloved Son William and his Heirs the House that Robert Cluer now lives in and Two Hundred Acres thereto to be divided at the Discretion of my Executors to Comedate the place that I now dwell on and the above Plantation always Reserved and Accepted Two Acres of land whereon the Meeting House now stands.”⁷

The will was proved October 2, 1732.

From the foregoing abstract of William Clark's will it is evident that the meeting house was erected before 1732 on a part of his land for which the Church had no title at the time the building was erected.

On October 15, 1715, the Commissioner of Property granted to William Clark 350 acres of land and six acres allowances. On October 16, 1715, this land was surveyed on “Poequoa Creek in Sadsbury township.” On May 7, 1743, the tract was re-surveyed to divide the land as stipulated in William Clarke's will, except the two acres “given and devised by the Testator to and for the use of the Presbyterian Congregation of Poequeoa for a Meeting House and Burying Ground for the said Congregation and their Successors for ever.”⁸ This land was conveyed to the trustees of the congregation by the (Rev.) Adam Boyd (first pastor of Pequea) and Thomas Clark, executors of the will of William Clark by deed dated: “March tenth one thousand seven Hundred fourty and Eight-Nine.” The deed was recorded December 23, 1749.

⁴ Beam's Sketch of Dr. Smith's Academy.

⁵ Ellis and Evans, p. 1041.

⁶ Alexander's History of Pequea Church, p. 8.

⁷ Book A, page 5.

⁸ Book A, page 120.

William Clark was, in all probability, the first person to be interred in the graveyard. His grave was not marked; therefore it cannot be identified.

The third pastor of Pequea was the Rev. David Alexander, who served until his death, which occurred about 1750. As was the custom of that day he was buried in the aisle in front of the pulpit. "When the old log structure was demolished his grave was not marked; so the exact spot of his last resting place is unknown."⁹

In the history of the Pequea congregation it is stated that it was during the ministry of the Rev. David Alexander that the celebrated preacher, the Rev. George Whitefield, laboured here, preaching either from the fork of an oak tree or standing underneath its branches. This tree stood in front of the old log building. Anthony Prettor Ellmaker, who was born April 3, 1729, often spoke of his riding on horseback from the Ellmaker homestead in Earl township to the old Pequea meeting house to hear Whitefield preach. When he got within half a mile of the place he heard the great preacher announce his text: "Watchman, what of the night?" He said the hills echoed the words. The people who were on foot going to the place of worship fell on their knees. Professor Beam in his sketch of Dr. Smith's Academy gives 1740 as the year in which Whitefield visited Pequea, and further states that the multitude which assembled to hear him was too great to be contained in the meeting house.

There is a great divergence of opinion concerning Whitefield's visit to Pequea and the neighboring places of worship. Futhey in his history of Upper Octorara Church states: "About the year 1743, the Rev. George Whitefield in the course of his visitations to the churches in this county, preached at Doe Run, and also at the New Side Church of Upper Octorara." The inaccuracy of this statement is obvious to any who delves into Whitefield's journals. Whitefield sailed for England in 1741, and did not return to America¹⁰ until 1744.

In the history of Leacock it is stated that it was probably the same year that Mr. Woodhull was ordained that the Rev. George Whitefield preached at Pequea and Leacock. The Rev. Mr. Woodhull was ordained August 1, 1770. In substantiating this statement Dr. Timlow relates how Mr. Amos Slaymaker, who died in 1837, at the age of eighty-three, often spoke of his riding, when a lad of fifteen or sixteen, behind his father on horseback to hear Whitefield preach.

My investigation of Whitefield's visit to Pequea has led me to examine his journals covering 1740 and that part of 1741 the great preacher spent in America, but I have not seen any evidence of his being in Pequea or in any part of Lancaster county at that time. The *Philadelphia Gazette* dated June 7, 1770, contained the following item which indicates that the visit to Pequea was made in that year: "On Tuesday last the Rev. George Whitefield left this city (Philadelphia) for Reading and Lancaster." From the following excerpt from Whitefield's journal, while not specifically mentioning Pequea nor Leacock, it would seem that these places were included in his itinerary: "Philadelphia, June 14, 1770. This leaves me, just returned from one hundred and

⁹ Alexander, p. 12.

¹⁰ Simpson's *Encyclopaedia of Methodism*, p. 941.

fifty miles circuit, in which, blessed be God, I have been enabled to preach every day."

The white oak tree under which Whitefield preached to the settlers of Pequea is still standing in the center of the old "God's Acre." There is a forked walnut tree standing near the carriage shed in the graveyard, which the present generation erroneously points out as the tree from which Whitefield delivered his sermon.

Near the western entrance to the church is the grave of William Hamilton, who was an influential member of the Pequea congregation. William Hamilton was born in 1712. I have not been able to learn from whence he came nor anything concerning his antecedents. About the year 1745, he moved on a farm containing 416 acres of land belonging to the estate of Stephen Cole, located along the Pequea creek in Salisbury township. On May 8, 1746, he purchased the whole or greater part of this tract of land from Martha Cole for 300 pounds. The stone house, in which he lived for nearly fifty years, is still standing near Buyerstown, and at present is owned by William Caldwell. William Hamilton also owned one half of a mill and land belonging thereto, located on the Pequea creek near the western boundary of Salisbury township.¹¹ He sold this to John Houston in 1769.

William Hamilton is said to have married Jane Noble.¹² She died on August 20, 1784, aged 70, and is buried beside her husband.

In volume 4 of the Colonial Records it is stated that William Hamilton, Gent., was appointed Coroner of the county of Lancaster on October 5, 1745. He was commissioned a Justice of the Peace April 18, 1761, and held this office for a number of years. In 1763, he was chosen overseer of the poor for Salisbury township.

On April 24, 1764, William Hamilton and fifteen other citizens of Lancaster county together with eleven members composing the "Proprietary and Governors Council" were assigned Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Lancaster by John Penn, Esquire, "by Virtue of a Commission from Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute Proprietaries of the said Province with our Royal Approbation Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province." They were required and commanded to hold Pleas of Assize, Scire Facias, Replevins and to hear and determine all manner of Pleas, Actions, Suits and Causes, Civil, Personal, Real and Mixed. They were "constituted and appointed with full power; and authority was granted unto them to administer as well in the Courts while setting as out of the same all and every such oath and oaths as shall be found necessary for the doing of Justice."¹³

In 1772, he was made supervisor of roads for Salisbury township.

William Hamilton died upon his farm on June 11, 1794, at the age of eighty-two.¹⁴ Among other bequests in his will he names the following:

¹¹ Egle's Notes and Queries, Third Series, Vol. 11.

¹² Cannot authenticate this statement.

¹³ Recorder's Office, Book F, p. 239; Book L, p. 259; Book H, p. 5, 116, 562; Book M, p. 271; Colonial Records, Vol. 9, p. 172.

¹⁴ Egle's Notes and queries, Third Series, Vol. 2.

"It is my will that my grandson William Boyd pay to the trustees of the Presbyterian Church Corporation of Pequea the sum of thirty pounds in two yearly payments, when he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, for the support of the Gospel Ministry in said congregation. I give and allow ten pounds to be paid by my executors of my estate to help repair and build a new wall around the burial ground of the Pequea Meeting House whenever the same begun or undertaken."

The will was dated May 31, 1794, and proved June 21, 1794.

From the above abstract of will one would infer that a wall enclosed the graveyard in 1794; and, the legacy William Hamilton bequeathed to the congregation of Pequea was intended to repair the dilapidated portion of the old wall and help build an extension. The graveyard wall was of considerable length and extended along the White Horse road. At that time the road ran parallel with the south side of the graveyard.

The legacy William Hamilton bequeathed to the Pequea congregation was paid according to the directions in his will, as the following release dated June 6, 1803, attests:

"Discharge said estate from all claims from the Beginning of the World to the day of the date of these Presents."

This unique release was signed by William Boyd, George McIlvaine, John Whitehill, Jr., James Greer and James McCammant, as trustees of the Pequea congregation.¹⁵ It was recorded December 11, 1803.

William Hamilton's daughter Mary married Lieutenant David Watson.

James Hamilton, son of William and Jane Hamilton, lies buried by the side of his father, though no tablet marks his last resting place. He was born March 24, 1743. On July 5, 1775, he enlisted as a private in Captain John Rowland's Company of Colonel John Feree's Battalion of Pennsylvania Associators from Lancaster County.¹⁶ On December 8, 1777, he was appointed a first lieutenant of the Third Company, Seventh Battalion, Pennsylvania Militia commanded by Colonel John Boyd of Lancaster county, as the following commission now in possession of Miss Martha Bladen Clark, a lineal descendant, well attests:

"In the name and by the Authority of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the said commonwealth, To James Hamilton Gentleman—We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, Do by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be first Lieutenant of a company of foot in the Seventh Battalion of Militia, in the county of Lancaster—. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of first Lieutenant by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And We do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as first Lieutenant. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from Time to Time receive from the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, or from your superior Officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, and in Pursuance of

¹⁵ Book 2, Vol. 3, p. 733.

¹⁶ Decennial Register Penna. Society Sons of Revolution, p. 313.

the Acts of Assembly in this State. This Commission to continue in Force until your Term, by the Laws of this State, shall of Course expire.

"Given under the lesser Seal of the Commonwealth, at Lancaster, this Eighth Day of December in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy seven.

"THO. WHARTON JUN PRES"

"No 3 Attest

"T. MATLACK JUY"

As a member of the Flying Camp he was in the battle of Long Island on August 27, 1776. He, evidently, served with distinction, for he was subsequently appointed captain, as the following letter dated August 16, 1779, and addressed to Captain James Hamilton would seem to indicate:

"Sir:—

"Agreeable to Orders received yesterday, You are to notify the Seventh Class of your Company and Likewise the Sixth to Randevouse at the usual place of parade, on Thursday next where there will be a Cort of Apale held agreeable to Law Six—. You are to use the Greatest of your influence Endeavoring to have them Collected agreeable to the former Instructions.

"I am with Esteem

"Your Hubl. Ser't.

"(Signed) GEO. STEWART

"L. C."

TO CAPTAIN JAMES HAMILTON

August 16, '79.

Like his father, James Hamilton was an influential citizen of the county. On November 9, 1762, he was listed as master of the "Ship Jenny"—a brig of 90 tons.¹⁷ On January 16, 1765, James Hamilton purchased from Isaac Richardson 181 acres of land along the "Old Road" or King's Highway in Salisbury township. On this he built a tavern known for more than fifty years as the "Bulls Head." After the death of James Hamilton, this property was purchased by "King" Tommy Henderson, who changed the name to Waterloo. W. C. Henderson of Pequea, Pa., writing to G. C. Kennedy, Esq., under date of August 11, 1893, says:

"When my father bought the Waterloo property from the Hamiltons it was known as the Bulls Head. He took this sign from the garret, had it painted over and named his new purchase Waterloo. When he sold to Burt the old sign was brought home and remained here until sold out when I gave it to John Mason."

In 1772, James Hamilton bought another farm adjoining the one previously purchased, containing 180 acres. In 1780, he was made overseer of the poor for Salisbury township. He was elected a Trustee of the Pequea congregation in 1792, and the following year was appointed supervisor of roads. In 1795, he was elected constable of Salisbury township. James Hamilton was married the first time to Catherine Carigan on February 26, 1769. Her father, Patrick Carigan, was one of the leading citizens of Leacock township. He was an Irish Episcopalian. At a meeting held on Easter Monday, April 15, 1745.

¹⁷ Penna. Archives, 2d Series, Vol. 2, p. 544.

he was elected a member of the Vestry of Saint James' Episcopal Church, Lancaster. While walking on the street in this city he dropped over dead on October 15, 1756, and was buried in St. James' churchyard. He owned 700 acres of land in Leacock township, which at his death were divided between his daughters Catherine Hamilton and Jane Coates Clemson. The children of James and Catherine Hamilton were:

1. William Hamilton.

2. Jane Hamilton married James Cochran. She was married the second time to Colonel Tate of Bedford, Penna.

3. Catherine Hamilton married George Jenkins of Chester county.

4. James Hamilton.

James Hamilton married the second time about the year 1786, Margaret Boyd, born in 1755, daughter of George Boyd of Salisbury township. Her mother was Mary Douglass, daughter of Archibald Douglass, who was one of the three sons of Lord Douglass, the lineal heir of that noted family which fills so large a space for hundreds of years in the stirring history of Scotland.

By this second marriage James Hamilton had issue:

1. Mary Hamilton, who was married to Colonel John Clark, son of Brice Clark, Esq., of Donegal township. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Dr. Arthur, pastor of Pequea, on May 16, 1816.

2. George Hamilton married Lucinda Humes, daughter of James Humes, who owned the cotton factory near Lancaster on the Conestoga. He received a large estate from his father and mother and ten thousand dollars from his two maiden aunts, Mary and Isabella Boyd. He built a furnace in Clarion county which he named Lucinda in honor of his wife. He engaged in other speculations which proved disastrous, and in a few years he lost his entire fortune.

George Hamilton was one of the commissioners appointed to organize Clarion county³⁴ when it was formed out of parts of Armstrong and Venango counties by act of March 11, 1839.

James Hamilton died on April 4, 1815. The Lancaster Journal dated April 22 of that year contained the following item: "Died. James Hamilton, last week in Pequea, aged about 70 years—A worthy and respectable man."

After the death of her husband, Margaret Hamilton moved to Donegal, where she resided with her daughter Mary, wife of Colonel John Clark. She died on August 5, 1828, and was buried in the graveyard adjoining Donegal church.

In the old part of the graveyard is the tomb of Robert McCally, who died August 23, 1774, in the forty-eighth year of his age. In his will dated January 15, 1774, appears the following bequest:

"I will and bequeath to the Presbyterian Congregation of Picquea now under the care of the Reverend Robert Smith of Picquea the sum of One Hundred Pounds the which order and allow to be put to Interest for the Support of the Gospel to be paid Eight Years after my decease."³⁵

The will was proved September 7, 1774.

³⁴ Sherman Day's History of Penna., p. 227.

³⁵ Book C, page 231.

At a meeting held on April 6, 1784, ten years after the death of Robert McCally, the pastor, the Rev. Dr. Robert Smith and John Whitehill informed the congregation of Pequea that they had received from Jasper Yeates, attorney at law in Lancaster, one hundred pounds as a legacy bequeathed to Pequea church by the late Robert McCally.¹⁹

From the minutes of the meeting of the Trustees we learn that:

"It was unanimously agreed by the members present to appropriate the annual interest of the aforesaid sum (Robert McCally's legacy) for the support of our pastor, the Rev. Robert Smith, and to let him have the use of the principal upon a mortgage of the place he lives on. Accordingly Mr. Smith gave a mortgage upon said place."²⁰

At this same meeting of the Trustees the pastor informed the members that in January, 1785, he received from James Galt twelve pounds ten shillings, being a legacy from his father, Thomas Galt, of Earl township. The bequest in his will is thus worded:

"I give and bequeath the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings lawful money to be paid by my Executors for the maintaining the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Pequea."²¹

The will was signed May 5, 1778, and proved January 15, 1781.

Thomas Galt is not buried in the graveyard adjoining Pequea meeting house. His ancestor Robert Galt was one of the earliest, if not the very first white man to settle in the Pequea valley. It was greatly owing to Robert Galt's efforts that the Pequea congregation was organized.²² The ancestral home of the Galts is located about two miles north of the meeting house. On the Galt farm is a private burying ground, in which it is supposed that Thomas Galt was interred.

In the new part of the graveyard is an imposing monument erected to the memory of John McCally of Coleraine, and a nephew of the Robert McCally just referred to. In his will dated August 2, 1870, he bequeaths:

"To the Presbyterian Church of Pequea, Lancaster county, Penna., I give and bequeath the sum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000). This sum shall be by the proper officers of the Church securely invested in Real Estate or other safe securities, and the annual interest arising therefrom shall be used for the purposes of the Church, the principal sum however shall not be used, but shall be allowed to remain at interest perpetually. To the Library of the Presbyterian Church at Pequea, Lancaster county, Penna., I give and bequeath the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000), this sum to be securely invested in the manner herein before provided for the investment of the Church legacy, the annual interest only to be applied for replenishing the library, the books to be selected by the Pastor of the Church for the time being, and no other person."²³

This library is housed at present in the home of the pastor in South Hermitage, Pa.

¹⁹ Ellis and Evans, p. 1049.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Book D, page 81.

²² Alexander, p. 7.

²³ Book C, Vol. 2, page 71.

On a tomb near the church is the following inscription :

To the Memory
of the
REV. ROBERT SMITH, D.D.,
Who departed this life
April 15, 1793,
In the 71 st. year of his age.
Forty-two years pastor
of the Presbyterian Church of
Pequea.

He was a faithful, eminent and successful divine.
Long at the head of a public seminary,
A great part of the Clergy of this State received the elements
of their education,
or
Perfected their Theological Studies
under his direction.

Beneath this monument sleeps a Father in Israel.

Robert Smith was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1723, and emigrated to America with his parents about the year 1730. They settled near the headwaters of the Brandywine. He was educated at the Log College in Neshaminy, Bucks county, Penna. In 1738, at the age of fifteen, he was converted under the preaching of Whitefield during the latter's first visit to America. He completed his theological studies under the Rev. Samuel Blair at Fagg's Manor, and was licensed to preach the Gospel on December 27, 1749.

On October 9, 1750, a call was extended to him from the congregations of Pequea and Leacock. He did not accept immediately, as he toured Virginia on a preaching mission. Upon his return he was ordained and installed pastor of Pequea on March 25, 1751, at the age of 28. Dr. Smith was not only an able and eloquent preacher, but also possessed a very superior mind, and was much esteemed and respected by all who knew him for his solid sense and unaffected piety.

The year following his installation as pastor of Pequea he established a theological school—the first institution of its kind in Lancaster county—to prepare students for the sacred ministry. This was undoubtedly the forerunner of Princeton Theological Seminary which was founded in 1812. A preparatory school was established soon after. The classical school as conducted by Dr. Smith for forty years was an institution of the highest character and the position it occupied in the county was unique. The school not only prepared students for college but also received them back again after they were graduated from a collegiate institution and prepared them for ordination. In the year 1758, the school had grown to such proportions that a tutor was employed to assist Dr. Smith. Tradition tells us that more than fifty ministers were either wholly prepared here, or at least, received a part of their training for the ministry, while as many more pupils were fitted for other avocations.²⁴ In 1792, owing to the ill health of the founder and prin-

²⁴ Beam's Sketch of Dr. Smith's Academy.

cial, the school was removed to Brandywine Manor and placed under the charge of the Rev. Nathan Grier.

Dr. Smith resided in a stone house which is still standing a few hundred yards north of the present church. This house and the farm adjoining were owned by Dr. Smith. To accommodate his students he erected a frame addition to the western end of the stone dwelling. After the school was removed, the frame structure was demolished and no trace of it remains today.

On May 22, 1750, Robert Smith was married to Elizabeth Blair, sister of his preceptor, the Rev. Samuel Blair. To this union were born five sons and one daughter. The eldest of these, Samuel Stanhope Smith, was principal of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, for a short period. In 1779, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in Princeton. In 1794, he succeeded Dr. Witherspoon as President of Princeton. He held this office until 1812, when, owing to feeble health, he resigned.

His fourth son, John Blair Smith, assisted his brother as teacher in Hampden Seminary, and when the latter resigned, John Blair Smith succeeded him in the presidency. He remained the active head of this institution until 1789, when he resigned. In 1791, he was called to the pastorate of the Pine Street Church, Philadelphia. In 1795, Union College, Schenectady, was founded, and he was chosen president.

Dr. Smith's first wife died February 19, 1777, and was buried near the western end of the church. On December 13, 1779, he was married the second time to Mrs. Sarah Ramsey, widow of the Rev. William Ramsey, and brother of Ramsey, the noted historian. Her maiden name was Sealy and she was a native of Cohansey, N. J. She bore him one daughter, Elizabeth Sarah, born October 15, 1780.

Dr. Smith was the friend of American independence and sided with the Presbyterian Church in the Revolution in which many of his congregation took an active part. He assisted the Rev. John Carmichael, pastor of the church at the Forks of the Brandywine, to take provisions to the American army, and was present at the Battle of Long Island, August 26, 1776. He and the Rev. Mr. Carmichael also carried provisions to Washington's army at Valley Forge. He was instrumental in the founding of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, and was actively interested in the establishment of Princeton College. On April 9, 1793, he attended a meeting of the Trustees held at Princeton, N. J. Returning on horseback he was stricken and fell from the saddle at Rockwell, Chester county. His body was found lying by the road side, his faithful horse standing beside him. He was removed to the home of William Hunter, Esq.—an elder of the church at the Forks of the Brandywine—where he died on April 15, 1793. His remains were taken to Pequea and buried under the shadow of the church he served for more than forty years.²⁵

During the pastorate of the Rev. David Alexander differences arose in the Presbyterian Church which culminated in a division known as the "great schism." This division was brought about by the influence of the great revival which swept the colonies at that period. George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennant and other evangelists were the chief actors in the great drama which resulted

²⁵ Ibid.

in the schism that rent the church in twain. This division lasted for a period of seventeen years, or from 1741 to 1758. The Synod of Philadelphia passed two acts, the one relating to itinerant preaching, and the other requiring candidates to be examined by a committee appointed by the synod. The followers of Whitefield set at naught these two acts. The revival faction formed a new synod known as the Presbytery of New Castle 2d. It was familiarly called the "New Side" Synod. The Presbytery of Donegal, with which the church at Pequea was connected, opposed the revival element and their methods and remained steadfast to the traditions of the church; hence it was known as the "Old Side" Synod. The Rev. David Alexander was a staunch advocate of the methods adopted by the revivalists, and as pastor of Leacock and Pequea, insisted that those churches separate from the Presbytery of Donegal and affiliate with the "New Side" Synod of New Castle.²⁶

There were, however, certain members in the Pequea congregation who did not approve of the methods adopted by the evangelists and those of their followers, and condemned the action of their pastor. They accordingly seceded from the church at Pequea and erected for their own use a stone church on a portion of ground near the western end of the graveyard.²⁷ This was known for many years as the Seceders Church. I have not been able to learn in which year it was built. This structure was still standing in 1855, although no services were held in it at that time, as it was in a state of ruin. The window sashes and panes were broken and the roof was about to fall in. The building was subsequently torn down, and the materials that were salvaged were used to erect the house which at present is occupied by the sexton of Pequea. Back of the Seceders Church stood a session house which was torn down at an earlier date than that of the church and the materials used in the construction of a schoolhouse.²⁸

The Seceders graveyard occupied the land which is now cultivated by the sexton as a vegetable garden. About the time that the Seceders Church building was razed, the tombstones were taken out of the Seceders graveyard and buried in the ground near the sexton's house to enable the sexton to till the land.²⁹ Some years since, Nicholas Hopper, while excavating near this house to build a cistern, dug up two human skulls.

The road leading to the White Horse originally followed a course between the west branch of the Pequea creek and the meeting house; then ran parallel with the graveyard wall, and near the Seceders Church turned abruptly south toward the village of White Horse. On June 11, 1872, the Trustees of Pequea Church purchased 3 acres and 57 perches of land, which were added to the graveyard. In the same year the road was changed from the south to the north side of the graveyard. It was extended past the church on the north for about 300 feet, where it turns abruptly to the left, and at present follows

²⁶ Alexander, p. 13.

²⁷ Information received from John S. Miller, Trustee of Pequea Church; corroborated by J. Watson Ellmaker.

²⁸ Adam Rutter claimed he attended school here.

²⁹ Information received from J. Watson Ellmaker.

a course between the sexton's house and graveyard and leads on to the White Horse.³⁰

The Rev. Dr. Smith entered upon the pastorate of Pequea Church during the time of the great schism. He became involved in the controversy then raging and this caused him much unhappiness. He, in conjunction with the Rev. Samuel Finley, was appointed by the Presbytery of New Castle 2nd to answer the charges of the Rev. Alexander Gellatly and the Rev. Andrew Arnot, the two Seceder ministers who were sent out by the Associate Synod of Scotland into Pennsylvania. These Seceder ministers were looked upon as intruders by the clergy of the New Side Presbytery. Dr. Smith's answer to these charges is:

"Robert Smith, Detective Detected, or a Vindication of the Rev'd. Mr. Delap and New Castle Presbytery from the Charges of Injurious Reasoning and False Representations Exhibited Against Them by the Rev. Messieurs Gellatly and Arnot; to Which is Affixed a Letter by the Rev. Samuel Finley."

This pamphlet was printed in Lancaster in 1757 on the press owned by Benjamin Franklin and rented to William Dunlap.

In 1759, when the reunion of the old and new side churches was accomplished, the Rev. Dr. Smith preached a sermon entitled: "A Wheel in the Middle of a Wheel, or the Harmony and Connection of the Various Acts of Divine Providence." This reunion, as far as it related to or affected Pequea Church, was only nominal. The two churches continued to maintain services as they did before. The few members composing the Seceders Church³¹ did not unite with old Pequea Church until about the year 1830.

A number of years before this the Church at Pequea adopted Watt's Hymnal. The Seceders sang Psalms only according to the version in Rouse's Psalm book. The members of the Seceders congregation who lived east of the old Pequea meeting house would close their ears while passing the latter place of worship if that congregation were singing a hymn. Even after the two congregations were united the older members would sing the words of a Psalm to the tune of the hymn the other members were singing.

One of the prominent members of the Seceders Church was John Houston. In his will he left a legacy to the Seceders Church as follows:

"August 10, 1769. John Houston. I allow that after the Debt and Legacies above mentioned be paid of that my Extrs lodges one hundred pounds of my Estate in Son James Hands that the Interest of it may come yearly to Support the Gosple in the Congregation whereof I have been a member or if the Congregation should be vacant then the Interest of the above sum should be to pay for Supplys in this Congregation and then to the minister under the Inspection of the Asociat Sonod but if son James or his Heirs should be for leaving the Congregation then let the above money be given to some safe hand in this Congregation that the Interest may be paid yearly for the benefit above mentioned that this money to be taken care of by the Session of the S'd congregation."³²

³⁰ Information received from D. S. Kurtz of Honeybrook, Pa., Treasurer of Pequea Church.

³¹ Alexander, p. 37.

³² Book B, page 572.

The will was proved December 6, 1769.

John Houston was born in Ireland, and emigrated to America before 1729. He settled in the Pequea valley. The limestone house which he built is still standing in Leacock township, and adjoins the old Hat tavern. The homestead is now owned by the Rev. Abram Martin. John Houston is said to have married Martha Duffield.³³ In his will he mentions six sons and two daughters, all of whom were born on the old homestead. Five of his sons were soldiers in the Revolution. His son James was killed in the battle of Paoli. When John Houston died in 1769, he owned one thousand acres of land which extended from Hess's mill on the Pequea creek to the Hat tavern on the old road. The remains of John Houston, his wife and son James, were interred in the burying ground adjoining the Seceders Church. Some years since the tombstone bearing the name John Houston and the date 1769 was unearthed by the sexton of Pequea. In the old graveyard adjoining the Pequea Church are interred the remains of generations of Buyers, Brisbins, Caldwells, Gramams, Kitteras, McCamants, Pattons, Slemmons, Skiles, Thompsons, Whitehills and other noted families. Much that is of interest could be written about these, but time and space will not permit.

³³ Cannot authenticate this statement.

Minutes of the February Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., February 6, 1920.

The February meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in their room in the A. Herr Smith Library Building at the usual hour, 7:40 P. M., the President, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding over the business session.

The minutes of the January meeting were read by the secretary and approved by vote.

The Treasurer, Mr. A. K. Hostetter, presented the following report:

LANCASTER, PA., February 6, 1920.

Report of the Treasurer of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

January 1, 1920, balance on hand as per annual report.....	\$216.96
Receipts	40.00
	<u>\$256.96</u>
Expenses	37.00
Balance in Treasury	<u>\$219.96</u>

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER,

Treasurer.

This report was adopted as read.

The Librarian, Mr. Harry Stehman, reported the following exchanges for the past month:

- I. The Linden Hall Echo, December, 1919.
- II. The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine.
- III. The North Carolina Historical Society Publication, volume XVI, number 2.
- IV. The Washington State Historical Society Quarterly, October, 1919.

The Society also received the following Annual Reports:

- I. Library of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.
- II. Interstate Commerce Commission, December 1, 1919.
- III. Laws of Pennsylvania Enacted During the 1919 Legislative Session.
- IV. State Commissioner of Banking Report for the Year 1917, Part I.
- V. State Department of Mines Report for the Year 1917, Part II.

Special donations to the Society included:

- I. A batch of wooden shingles from the roof of the old Lancaster Court House that formerly stood in Penn Square, from Mr. Edward Ruth, of Lancaster.
- II. Upwards of one hundred books of miscellaneous character, containing some historical works and records of value, presented by Miss Daisy Rohrer, of Lancaster.

- III. A Deed from John, Thomas and Richard Penn to Joseph Stoneman, of Lancaster County, for a tract of land on the Conestoga, October 14, 1745, found by Frank X. Hinden, of Lancaster, and presented by Judge Charles I. Landis for him; also certain permits, from the County Treasurer, to make whiskey.
- IV. A Copy of the Ben Franklin Annual, January 17, contributed by Mr. D. B. Landis.
- V. A copy of the Journals of Select and Common Council of Lancaster and a memorial to Honorable Henry Lightner Trout, late Mayor of Lancaster, also contributed by Mr. D. B. Landis, Councilman for 2nd Ward.
- VI. Pennsylvania's Participation in the World War from the Pennsylvania War History Commission.

On motion and by vote the report was accepted and an expression of thanks was voted to all donors.

There were eight applications for membership to the Society:

- I. Marriott Brosius Fasnacht, 550 West Orange Street, City.
- II. Mr. David F. Watt, 325 College Avenue, City.
- III. Mrs. David F. Watt, 325 College Avenue.
- IV. Mrs. Eleanora C. Maurer, 325 College Avenue.
- V. Miss Hannah Whitson, 30 South Lime Street.
- VI. Miss Elizabeth C. Eaby.
- VII. Miss Mary L. Eaby, 127 E. Clay Street.
- VIII. S. L. Carpenter Shirk, care of Franklin House.

Under the rules of the Society, these applications were laid over for the month.

The Auditing Committee presented the following report:

LANCASTER, PA., January 28, 1920.

We, the undersigned auditors appointed to examine the accounts of A. K. Hostetter, Treasurer, of the Lancaster County Historical Society, do hereby certify that we have duly audited said accounts and find them correct as stated therein, showing the balance on hand at the beginning of the year to have been \$138.26. The receipts for the year were \$573.75 and the expenditures for which orders were regularly drawn amounted to \$495.05, thus leaving a balance in the Treasury, January 1, 1920, of \$216.96.

In addition to the above, the Treasurer has also submitted to this committee the following described certificates of deposit issued by the Conestoga National Bank, bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum:

\$ 32.90, due Jan. 8, 1920	26.00, due Mar. 6, 1920
263.17, due Mar. 4, 1920	236.89, due July 18, 1920
216.32, due Mar. 6, 1920	35.59, due Dec. 3, 1920

All of which is respectfully submitted this 28th day of January, 1920.

L. B. HERE,

I. C. ARNOLD,

H. L. SIMON,

Auditing Committee.

The report was adopted as read.

A short sketch of the proceedings of the Federation of Historical Societies which met January 9 was given by the President, Judge Charles I. Landis.

who said that the meeting had been most interesting and entertaining. Two of the members of the local Society were mentioned as having attended, himself and Miss Lottie Bausman. At this meeting, Judge Landis was elected a Vice President of the Federation.

Mr. William Worner spoke about members and others not being allowed to take the Historical Society books out of the Library Building causing dissatisfaction and called attention to the fact that although at one time it had been customary to have the Librarian of the Public Library give out books when called for, that privilege had been rescinded by vote of the Society. A discussion followed in which Messrs. A. K. Hostetter, I. C. Arnold, Harry L. Stehman, D. B. Landis, L. B. Herr and John L. Summy participated. On motion of Mr. Summy it was decided to refer the matter to the Library Committee, consisting of Judge Charles I. Landis, ex-officio; Harry L. Stehman, Librarian, I. C. Arnold, D. B. Landis and Adeline B. Spindler, for consideration, to be reported upon at a subsequent meeting.

There being no further business, the paper of the evening was announced: "The Old Pequea Presbyterian Graveyard," by Mr. William Worner. The President, being obliged to leave, in the absence of both vice-presidents, called Mr. A. K. Hostetter to the chair.

The paper proved to be very interesting and was much appreciated by the members. This was attested by the discussion, in which several members took part. A vote of thanks to the writer was unanimously given, and the motion to refer it to the proper committee for publication was approved.

On motion it was then voted and approved to revert to new business which had for its object the views of the Society on an indoor social, including a luncheon. A motion to this effect was made by Mr. Worner. It was discussed by several members favorably and on motion of Mr. Summy it was decided to refer the matter to the Executive Committee for consideration to be ready for full report at the March meeting. The meeting was an exceptionally interesting one and it was considerably after the usual hour when it finally adjourned. A meeting of the Executive Committee was called for immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting.

Signed,

ADALINE BREAM SPINDLER,

Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

LETTERS OF COL. MATTHIAS SLOUGH TO
ROBERT MORRIS.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 3.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

Letters of Col. Matthias Slough to Robert Morris . . . 59
By HON. CHAS. I. LANDIS.
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Letters of Col. Matthias Slough to Robert Morris.

By HON. CHAS. I. LANDIS.

I have several times presented before you short sketches of the life of Col. Matthias Slough; but, in doing so, I have confined myself to his birth and death and a few public incidents of his life. His remains are interred in St. James' Cemetery, in this city. He was one of the most prominent citizens of the old town prior to and covering the War of the Revolution, and his intimate relations, not only with his fellow citizens, but with distinguished men and officials residing in the Commonwealth, would, it seems to me, throw a vivid light upon the various transactions of those far-off times. Whether any one is possessed of such documents, I cannot say; but, some time ago, I purchased at a public sale in Philadelphia, ten of his letters, written during the year 1778. They are all directed to Robert Morris, the patriot-financier. They were all written in Lancaster, and five of them were directed to Robert Morris, at Manheim, and five to him at Philadelphia.

It may not be generally known that Robert Morris, at that time, lived in the town of Manheim. Baron Henry William Stiegel, so known, had built a great house, called "The Castle," for his own use. When the British approached Philadelphia, the Morris family took all they valued, most of their household effects, both in their city and country houses, and conveyed them in a caravan of covered wagons to Lancaster, and thence to what had been the Stiegel home. They remained there until Philadelphia was evacuated by the British in 1778.

Mrs. Morris, writing to her mother, Mrs. Thomas White, from Philadelphia, on April 14, 1777, said:

"We are preparing for another flight, in packing up our furniture and removing them to a new purchase Mr. Morris has made 10 miles from Lancaster, no other than the famous house that belonged to Stedman and Stiegel at the Iron Works, where you know I spent six weeks; so am perfectly well acquainted with the goodness of the house and the situation. The reason Mr. Morris made this purchase, he looks upon the other not secure if they come by water. I think myself very lucky in having this asylum, it being but eight miles, fine road, from Lancaster, where I expect Mr. Morris will be if he quits this, besides many of my friends and acquaintances. So I will now solicit the pleasure of your company at this once famous place, instead of Mennet, where perhaps we may yet trace some vestiges of the late owner's folly and may prove a useful lesson to his successors."

When Baron Stiegel became embarrassed, his property was sold by the Sheriff and purchased by Michael Diffenderfer. The deed from John Ferree, Esq., High Sheriff, bears date March 30, 1775, and is recorded in Record Book Q, p. 247. The property was described as all those following four lots

or pieces of ground, situated, lying and being in the Town of Mannheim, in the County of Lancaster, aforesaid. The first of said lots was marked on the general plan of the said town as No. 278, and contained in front on Prussian Street 57 feet and in depth to Wolf Street 257 feet. Another of said lots was marked on the general plan of said town as No. 279, and contained in front on Prussian Street 57 feet, and in depth to Wolf Street 257 feet. A third lot was marked on said plan as No. 280, and contained in front on Prussian Street 57 feet, and in depth to Wolf Street 257 feet. The fourth of said lots was known as No. 281, and contained in front on Prussian Street 57 feet, and in depth to Wolf Street 257 feet. The said four lots were granted on April 14, 1777, by Michael Diffenderfer to William Baussman, his heirs and assigns.

There was another lot of ground, which Charles Stedman and Ann, his wife, Alexander Stedman and Elizabeth, his wife, and Henry William Stiegel and Elizabeth, his wife, by their indenture dated October 1, 1762, granted and confirmed unto Adam Diffenderfer, his heirs and assigns, for ever, and which the said Adam Diffenderfer and Margaret, his wife, by deed poll endorsed on the back of the said indenture, dated March 31, 1777, granted unto William Baussman, his heirs and assigns. On April 25, 1777, William Baussman and Catharine, his wife, conveyed all of the above mentioned tracts unto Robert Morris, Merchant, of the City of Philadelphia.

What was then called Prussian Street has since been named Main Street. I am informed that beyond doubt the Stiegel Mansion was located on the above described lots. The south brick wall of the second story of what is now a three-story brick building on the first mentioned lot is the original south wall of the Stiegel house. This building has for many years been known as the Henry Arndt Store. About eight years ago, the title to it passed to H. D. Leman, and recently Mr. Leman conveyed it to Willis Rettew. Next on the north is now a two-story brick residence, owned and occupied by Clayton S. Shelly, and adjoining these premises on the north is a three-story brick building, owned by T. S. Beck & Son as a furniture and undertaking establishment. Still further to the north is the drug store of Charles A. Ensminger. All of these buildings are on the Stiegel lots.

The Stiegel Glass Factory was on the northwest corner of Charlotte and Stiegel Streets. On this ground is now erected a two-story brick dwelling house, formerly owned and occupied by Philip F. Ruhl, deceased, but lately sold to Benjamin Bomberger. The Baron's office stood on the northwest corner of Charlotte and West High Streets. It was a one-story building, which for many years was occupied by Jonas White as a carpenter shop. There, however, was here erected by the late Clayton Gible a two and a-half story mansion, now owned by J. H. Hacker, which is considered one of the finest houses in the town.

The following are transcripts of the Slough letters:

Dear Sir:—

I have now the Pleasure of inclosing you a resolve of Council respecting the enlargement of our Friend, John Brown, together with the Bond which he and his Surety are to sign.

If it should be inconvenient for you to come to town for the purpose of executing the Bond, I apprehend your doing it before two witnesses at your own house will answer the same end, as I shall take care to have it completed immediately on the messenger's return and get him out of confinement. Mr. Brown wishes to have his horse sent him that he may immediately proceed to Manheim.

Your favour of the 22'd I am Hon'd with and have only to assure you that I shall be happy in rendering the Publick every service in my power in the sale of the Indigo now in my possession, which I shall take a pleasure in negotiating on such terms as you shall think reasonable. I am distressed at the indisposition of our worthy acquaintance, Mr. Nesbitt, and hope if in my power to see him to-morrow.

With my best Compliments to Mrs. Morris, I remain

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Servant,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

My Messenger having disappointed me, am obliged to send my son.

If your Cargoe at Baltimore is yet unsold, I shall take the liberty of making you a Proposal to morrow.

HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manheim.

Dear Sir:—

You will herewith receive several Packets which my Son brought yesterday from York Town. Am very sorry they met with the Misfortune they have, & at the same time am happy to have them to send you at all, as my Son's horse broke through the ice on Susquehannah several times on his way over, which the whole were in danger of being lost. I have taken every method in my power to drye them as much as possible since their arrival, and hope they will appear plain on their being opened.

On Friday last came to my care from Borden Town sent by Mess'rs Francis Hopkinson & John Wharton four hog'ds & four Tierses full of indigo and one Tierse about halfe full, which have stored untill you shall please to order them to be otherwise disposed of, and remain, with best Compliments to Mrs. Morris

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

Sunday morning

Lancaster Jan'y 29 1778

HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manheim.

LANCASTER, Feb'y 18th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

Since the receipt of your favour by Mr. Parr I made inquiry respecting the Tun of Steel you mention, and am sorry to inform you that the quantity is not to be had in this place at present. I wrote to Mr. Potts some weeks

since requesting him to send me two Tuns, but have not heard from him since. I intend sending to him in a few days if I do not hear from him and hope to have it in my power to furnish you with the quantity you mention, provided the gentleman who wants it is not in too great a hurry, but what the price will be I can at present not tell you. You may depend on my assisting it as soon as possible, and remain with best Compliments to Mrs. Morris

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Serv't

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

THE HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manheim.

Lancaster, March 12th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

It is with concern indeed I have to mention to you that I have at length found the bottom of my Wine Pipe, so that I have not a drop left to give to my Friend. I have therefore thought of sending my own team on Monday or Tuesday next with a load of flower for you, by whome I beg you will send me halfe a pipe of such as you think you can Drink when you do me the honour of spending a day with me, and believe me

Dear Sir

Your Most Obliged &

Very Humble Servant,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

THE HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manheim.

LANCASTER, May 30th, 1778.

My Dear Sir:—

I am favour'd with yours by Mr. Whiteside and have complied with your request in paying him one Thousand Pounds, for which have taken his receipt.

Am extreamly sorry to find that he is like to be disappointed in the other sum and have endeavour'd all in my power to raise him Two Thousand, which I could easily have accomplished had the Quartermaster cash in his hands, or had the demand come upon me yesterday, when the Council applied to me to lend them Two Thousand Pounds for a few days, a sum which they sent to Northumberland County for the releafe of the people their, after getting it from me, for which together with the sum of Six Thousand Pounds more I have now orders on the State Treasurer for and can not get any of it for some time. In haste, I remain

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manheim.

LANCASTER, JULY 30th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

I have your favour of the 21st Current which came under cover to Mr. Yeates from Mr. Ingles now before me, and shall agreeable to your request furnish Mr. Yeates with such sums of money as he may require for the purpose of purchasing Hemp, and transmit you his Drafts for the same. He has been abroad at Cumberland and York Courts, so that he has not drawn any. The article of Indigo remains heavy on my hands. Could my worthy friend find a way of disposing of it without loss to me, it would lay me under the greatest obligations.

It will give me infinite pleasure to have it in my power to be of service to you in disposing of your House and Lands at Manheim. If therefore you will furnish me with your terms, you may depend on my best indeavours to dispose of it or get a good tenant. I am infinitely obliged to you for the Case of Clarret. It is very good and shall not be drank without greatly remembering you & good Mrs. Morris.

Permit me now my Dear Sir to assure you that none is happier to congratulate you and yours on your return to your happy habitation than I am, and none is more fervent in his wishes that you may remain happy in the same untill the end of your days than I am, who remains with best compliments to Mrs. Morris, in which Mrs. Slough joins, with offers of my services whenever you shall be pleased to command.

Dear Sir

Your Most Ob't H'ble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

THE HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R,
fav'd by MR. MILN.

Philadelphia.

LANCASTER, Sep'r 7th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

I have your favour of the 18th Aug't now before me, which I was Hon'd with some days since, and should with pleasure have answered it before now, but on the verry day on which your favour came to hand, my youngest child was suddenly taken with most violent Fitts which continued untill the 29th, when it terminated in the loss of him, so that during the whole of his illness I could not attend to the commands you are pleased to honour me with, and what I have done since his death has been attended with no success, but on to morrow I intend taking a ride into York County where I am informed a quantity of Hemp may be had which if possfble I shall purchase and forward to you as quick as possible. There is some little Hemp yet to be had in this county, but not under 4½ delivered here, or for hard money at a price which I have not been able to ascertain, but supose it to be about 9d. Immediately on my return from York County I shall take the liberty of informing you

of my success, which hope will be to your satisfaction, and remain with best Compliments to Mrs. Morris, in which Mrs. Slough joins,

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Servant,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

THE HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R,
Philadelphia.

LANCASTER, October 13th, 1778

Dear Sir:—

I have your favour of the 2'd Curr't, which I received yesterday, and am extremely sorry it is not in my power to comply with its contents. The man who has the hemp for sale for hard money is now here, but is so unreasonable with it that it is impossible to purchase it. He now will not take less than 15 d. hard money, and I know of no other to be purchased in this or York county. There is a young man gone into Maryland whom I have given orders to purchase a few tons if possible, for which have agreed to give 4-6 p. lb., delivered here, but have not heard from him. Have also wrote to my brother in law in Virginia to endeavour to purchase some & send it down your way. Depend on my getting some for you if possible, and remain with best Compliments to Mrs. Morris, in which Mrs. Slough joins,

Dear Sir

Your Most Humble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R, Manhelm.
Philadelphia.

LANCASTER, Nov'r 10th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

By the bearer, Robert Knox, you will again receive 2041 lbs. Hemp which I weighed myself & have no doubt but the weight will hold out. At my return home I examined the weight of the last load and found some error, so that it must stand as it is. Shall send another load by the first waggon I can get, and shall be glad to know if I am to purchase any more. This I bought at 4-3 delivered here. Am in haste

Dear Sir,

Your very Humble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

ROBERT MORRIS ESQ'R
by ROBT KNOX

Philadelphia.

LANCASTER, Nov'r 16th, 1778.

Dear Sir:—

By the bearer, John Bowers, Waggonor, you will again receive one load Hemp weighing 2235 lbs., which have no doubt will please as it is very good.

The amount of it you will please to order to my credit at 4-3 p. lb., exclusive of the Carriage, an amount of which shall furnish you with when the whole of the Hemp is delivered.

Have one load more here, which shall also be sent this week, and shall be glad to know if I shall purchase any more on your account, as I may have it in my power to get a little more & have several orders for some from some gentlemen in Philad'a. Hope to hear from you on this head, and remain

Dear Sir,

Your Most Humble Serv't,

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

HON'BLE ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ'R,
Philadelphia.

I have never before seen any original letters of Col. Matthias Slough. Of course, there may be a number of them in existence, and perhaps this may be the means of bringing them to public attention.

I present these letters to the Society.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

LANCASTER, Pa., March 5, 1920.

Owing to a storm and of one of the severest gales and blizzards ever known to this region, the attendance at the regular meeting of the Historical Society this evening was probably the smallest, according to number, on record. It included five members, the President, Judge Charles I. Landis, who presided over the meeting; the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, John Summy, and two lay members, Hon. John H. Landis and I. C. Arnold, Esq. After waiting a short while beyond the usual time for opening to give storm-belated members a longer opportunity to arrive, the meeting was called to order at eight o'clock.

The minutes of the February meeting were read and approved, as was also the report of the special meeting of the Executive Committee called to report on the development of the "Social" to be held by the Society at the Iris Club, Friday, April 16.

The following donations for the month were reported by the Librarian, Harry Stehman, Jr.:

The Journal of American History.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins 68 and 69.

A list of the Washington Manuscripts from the year 1592 to 1775, from the Library of Congress.

Sketch of Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois.

New and Liberal Features of War Risk Insurance, from the U. S. Treasury Department.

Red Radicalism as Described By Its Own Leaders, compiled by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

Year Book of the Penna. Federation of Historical Societies, 1918.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1917.

Annual Encampment of the Penna. G. A. R., 1918.

Report of Penna. State College, 1915-1916.

Annual Report of Penna. Secretary of Internal Affairs, Part IV, 1917.

A score of large posters of Lancaster World War Heroes, from "The New Era" Co.

Letters From Colonel Matthias Slough to Robert Morris, from Judge Charles I. Landis.

A vote of thanks was extended the donors. Special mention was made of the donation of Judge Landis, and it was decided to hand the "Letters" to the Treasurer to be put in the safety box, at the bank.

A most interesting paper, entitled "Letters From Colonel Matthias Slough to Robert Morris," was prepared and read by Judge Landis and was most

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cordially appreciated by the small audience. A vote of thanks was unanimously given and the paper was ordered to be printed in the usual way.

The meeting was informal and delightful. It adjourned about the regular time.

ADALINE B. SPINDLER,
Secretary.

PAPERS READ
BEFORE THE
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

HISTORICAL SOCIETY SOCIAL.
IN QUEST OF WILLIAM PENN,
BY ALBERT COOKE MYERS.
THE INFLUENCE OF LANCASTER COUNTY ON
THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER,
BY HON. FREDERICK A. GODCHARLES.
MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING.

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LANCASTER, PA.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY SOCIAL.

Report of the Committee in Charge.

Lancaster, May 7, 1920.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

Your committee in charge of the "Indoor Social" held by the society under your direction, and fixed by your body to be held on the 16th of April, in the building of the Iris Club, beg to report that:

Agreeably to your pleasure and in accordance with the plans previously arranged by you, the said Social was held at the time and place planned. The event was an unqualified success from every angle. The attendance was very good, considering the extreme inclemency of the weather, there being 134 members and friends present.

The entire program was excellently rendered, and though about two and a half hours were required in the same, there was no evidence of a single person being tired by the proceedings of the evening; but on the other hand there were universal expressions of pleasure and delight voiced on all sides. We feel that much good has been rendered to the Society by the social. Many members present stated that their interest in it was greatly revived, and they expressed a purpose of becoming active in its work, and of securing new members.

There were the following committees, acting with the main committee in order to secure adequate attention to all the requirements of a successful social of the kind planned by this society; a committee on program—a committee on reception—committee on invitations, etc.

The personnel of the said committees follows:

Committee on Program, to secure speakers and musical entertainment—Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, Miss Martha B. Clark, Miss Adaline B. Spindler and Mr. John Summy (chairman).

Committee on Reception—Mr. H. Frank Eshleman (chairman) Messrs. George Steinman, Herbert Beck, D. F. Magee, H. L. Stehman, Jr., I. C. Arnold, George F. K. Erisman, Miss Daisy Grubb, Mrs. Sarah D. Carpenter, Mrs. A. K. Hostetter, Mrs. Agnes Techmeyer, Misses Emma Groff, Mary Hoover, Mary Dougherty, Kate Kelly.

Committee on Invitations:—to attend to the getting and placing of tickets and publishing programs—Mr. A. K. Hostetter (chairman), Mr. L. B. Herr, Mr. D. B. Landis, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson.

Special Committee of Three:—Mr. John Summy, L. B. Herr and Miss Adaline B. Spindler. On all committees, Judge Landis ex-officio.

The vocal and instrumental music were especially fine and entertaining. Mr. Hall's rendition of "The Trumpeter" was thrilling and dramatic in a marked degree. Mrs. Griest's instrumental solo rendition, splendid.

The following program was rendered:

PROGRAM.

Address of Welcome

President Judge Charles I. Landis

String Quartett—AirJ. S. Bach

Solo on G StringArr G. Wilhemj

Mrs. Ellwood Griest
Lancaster.

Illustrated AddressIn Quest of William Penn

Mr. Albert Cooke Myers,
Philadelphia.

Tenor Solos:—

(a) The Old RefrainFritz Kreisler

(b) The TrumpeterJ. Airlie Dix

(c) The ShadowsH T Burleigh

Sergeant Ray Hall,
Lancaster.

Accompanist—Miss Helen E. Zook.

Address

Hon. Frederic A. Godcharles
Deputy Secretary of Commonwealth

String Quartette—MinuetBoccherini

Violins

Mrs. Ellwood Griest

Miss Marguerite Herr

Viola

Violoncello

Herbert H. Beck

Harold Pries

Luncheon

Social Hour.

President Landis' Address.

Judge Landis, the president, was unable to be present on account of sickness. His address was read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Second Vice President, who presided.

The President's address was as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has been delegated as my duty to welcome you on this occasion, and I heartily do so. This society has invited certain gentlemen and ladies to aid in your entertainment, and I know you will be pleased with the selections made. The purpose of the occasion, as I understand it, is to increase the interest of the members in the work for which the society was created.

Have you considered the importance which the perpetuation of history is to every community? The lives and work of our forefathers are a lesson to their sons and daughters and should be recorded on a monument more lasting than brass. Led by that eminent statesman and philosopher, William Penn, a wilderness was peopled by God-fearing men and women, and by their labor and self-denial there was laid the foundation of the present greatness of the Commonwealth. If we wish to perpetuate it, it must be done by the same economy and labor which inspired this rugged and self-sacrificing people.

It seems to me that no more laudable work can be offered in any community than that which makes up a record of the past. Though times change and men come and go, that record remains for the future generations. The late Charles Francis Adams, moved by that spirit, wrote the history of his home town of Quincy, and there it stands, imperishable and illuminating, not only to its sons and daughters, but to the stranger who comes within its gates.

The educated men and women who have preceded us and some who are yet living have, in twenty-three volumes of our reports, endeavored to record the history of this locality in a like manner. The future historian of this city and county will find treasures invaluable contained therein.

But there is one thing which I have before called attention to, which will to my mind prove more beneficial than many of the ephemeral things which from time to time engage our attention. We should have a home, a museum of art and history, where the finer tastes can be cultivated and where educated men and women can meet and enjoy the beautiful and valuable things which ought to be gathered together in every community, and which pre-eminently exist here. We have a small fund, and I know others are willing to contribute to its increase, but there is not sufficient to carry out such a project as I think it should be carried out. I do not mean that we should institute what is in common vogue called a "drive" to accomplish this object. Personally, I do not like the word. Others may do as they like; but, much though I long for it, I will never have a hand in forcing others to give of their means to this organization except by their free will. This is not a commercial project and should not be considered as such. But it seems to me that no person, who has the means and the inclination, could better perpetuate his or her memory among our citizens or further the public good to any greater extent than by aiding in the erection of a suitable building for such a purpose. In the City of Hartford, J. Pierpont Morgan and Mrs. Colt have erected such a memorial, and perhaps some day in this city a broad-minded individual will rise in our midst and carry out this hoped-for project.

And now I again express my pleasure in addressing you on this occasion.

In Quest of William Penn.

Address by Albert Cooke Myers.

Mr. Albert Cooke Myers' "Illustrated Address" which he entitled "In Quest of William Penn," was highly instructive and entertaining.

He began by noting the time of Penn's arrival, and then explained Penn's visit to the Lancaster County region in 1701; and also Penn's projected settlement on the Susquehanna, which collapsed about 1706.

After the introductory part of his address, Mr. Myers went into pretty full details of his trips abroad, and of his search in foreign libraries for Penn material, and amazed his audience by telling of the mass of such matter available, practically all of which he secured in copy. He has gathered up practically all of Penn's writings from 1660 to 1712. He asserted that no history of the Middle Colonies can be written truthfully without first exhausting Wm. Penn; that of 1,200 letters of Penn not over 30 per cent. of them are in print; that in his judgment Penn stands as the greatest of all the founders of America.

He then showed a photographic copy of the only letter Wm. Penn wrote (at least now extant) on the west side of the Susquehanna, and for that matter, the only one west of the Octoraro. It is dated "Susquehanna River 1701" and was written to Secretary James Logan.

He then showed some very interesting maps or charts marking the areas of English—Scotch—Welsh and Swiss settlements, the size, numbers and locations of them—in 1682-3—in 1690—in 1715, and in 1735 indicating the different nationalities mentioned, each by a different colored area in the pictures as follows: Blue (English)—Brown (Welsh)—Red (Swiss and German-Swiss) and Yellow (Scotch-Irish). How these were moving westward was very instructive.

He then went into the ancestry of Penn; and traced the different branches of his family, during and subsequent to his life down to the present day, explaining how and when the several branches became extinct, as most of them have so become. He showed on the canvass the ancient houses of the Penns and also the later and more modern ones in England. He showed pictures of the churches in which Penn was active, and of which bodies he was a part from a child onward, also his schools and place of burial. He also showed many paintings of the Penn family scions for many years downward toward modern times. He detailed John Penn's travels in Lancaster County, in 1788; and also the visit to America in 1850 of a great-grandson of the founder. No modern motion picture could have been more impressive than the talk and views on canvas given us by Mr. Myers in the hour he devoted to our entertainment.

The Influence of Lancaster County on the Pennsylvania Frontier.

Address by Hon. Frederick A. Godcharles.

After music Hon. Frederick A. Godcharles, Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, delivered an informal address on "The Influence of Lancaster County on the Pennsylvania Frontier." He spoke as follows:

With an Historical Society such as is yours, whose members so thoroughly understand the history and traditions of Provincial Pennsylvania, it is no small concern to one invited to address you upon such an occasion to select a subject which could in any degree either hold your attention or leave with you a single pleasant reflection.

Pennsylvanians have always been too modest to sing the praises of those who have made Pennsylvania great; the school children of to-day, as in the past, have never been properly thrilled with the deeds of patriotic daring on our own frontiers and bloody battlefields, but each in his turn has studied the deeds of the heroes of other states. Where is the school boy or girl who does not know something of Paul Revere's Ride, the Boston Tea Party, etc.? But how many know of the trials and tribulations of the sturdy Scotch-Irish and hardy German settlers on our own frontiers, of the hundreds of Indian incursions within the very limits of our busy towns and cities of to-day; of the various expeditions against the savages during and subsequent to the French and Indian War and of the battles fought on our very soil during each of the great wars in our country? I dare say that but a few are intimately acquainted with these heroes at home, but it is hoped that in the future more earnest effort may be made to bring this great Commonwealth before the country in the degree which the exploits and deeds of our people have long since merited.

In this spirit I have thought that you natives of old Lancaster county, with a full portion of this same modesty, may not be familiar with the influence exerted by many of your heroic early citizens on the frontiers of our Province; how these brave men and women pushed out from old Lancaster, following the great natural highways, crossing the mountains and again pushed into the western part of our state, in each movement ever leading the native settlers in their determined fight to permanently locate their families on the fertile and coveted soil of Penn's Woods.

As a native of Northumberland county, and a descendant of some of your own people, I am particularly pleased this evening to devote the few minutes allotted to me in relating a few of my impressions of the influence exerted by Lancaster countians on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania.

The first settlers in what is now Central Pennsylvania were those intrepid, hard characters known as the Indian traders. The most prominent of these were from Lancaster county. Jacques LeTort, first settled at Conoy, then in Donégal township, Lancaster county, and later moved up the Susquehanna to the confluence of the North and West branches, and opened a store on what has long been known as the Big Island, at Sunbury.

John Harris, a native of England, first selected Lancaster county as a home, then moved farther towards the center of the Province and became the

first white settler at Paxton. It was he who first introduced the plow on the Susquehanna in the territory which is now above Lancaster County. He was the father of Captain John Harris, founder of Harrisburg.

Other Lancaster County Indian Traders who pushed into the great wilderness and became factors in planting white settlements on the frontiers were the Galbraths, who went into the Cumberland Valley, George Gibson, who went to what is now Perry county, and John Wilkins, Henry Bealy, Col. James Hamilton, Lazarus Lowry and his four brave sons, John, James, Daniel and Alexander, all of whom pushed into the Allegheny and Ohio regions.

The early settlers who first learned the attractions of the Upper Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys were principally Scotch-Irish or English; later the German and Swiss moved into this territory. Of the earlier settlers the vast majority came from Lancaster county.

Not only did these sturdy settlers spread the influence of Lancaster county, but the wagons and pack horses used by them and on the frontiers were obtained there.

The Indians became a most serious menace after the defeat of Braddock, July 9, 1775, and the entire frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were exposed to the ravages of the French and Indians.

Dreadful outrages and cruel murders became almost daily occurrences. The Indians destroyed the settlements of Great Cove, in Cumberland county, others on the Tulpehocken in Berks, others along Penn's Creek in what is now Snyder county, and many other places on both sides of the Susquehanna. In January, 1756, French and their Indian Allies, formed marauding parties which attacked English settlers on the Juniata, murdering and scalping those who did not flee.

These incursions caused forts to be built as protection to the settlers, and soon small stockades sprung up along the streams and traveled highways.

The Provincial authorities gathered the friendly Indians from the Susquehanna to Philadelphia, that they might not be mistaken for enemies. They did not remain there long, but headed by their great leaders, Sarroady and Montour, at the risk of their lives, they hurried to visit the several tribes located along the Susquehanna and endeavored to persuade them to live at peace with the white settlers of Pennsylvania.

It was at this time that Lancaster County rendered the most efficient service to the frontier settlements. The people of this county joined with those of the frontier counties of Pennsylvania in expressing the highest indignation because the Provincial Assembly, with its Quaker personnel, refused to adopt war like measures to put a stop to these massacres. They held public meetings here in Lancaster and resolved to go to Philadelphia and compel the Provincial authorities to pass proper laws to defend the country. They sent dead bodies and some badly mangled victims to Philadelphia, where they hauled them through the streets in wagons bearing placards that they were victims of Quaker apathy.

Treaties were made with the Indians at Easton, but only to be broken.

War was inevitable, but the Quakers could not see it.

The demand for a fort at the confluence of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna was made known at a very early date. The friendly In-

dians, under that great Shikellimy viceroy of the Six Nations, urged the Provincial authorities to build a fort there, granting them not only the ground but promising to assist in the actual building and to send every moral support in their power.

Moravian missionaries had established a mission there and provided a blacksmith who could repair guns for the Indians and do such work as would spare them from taking it to Tulpehocken.

After years of debate among the Quakers in authority, it was finally, in 1755, decided that a fort should be built at Shamokin, as the present site of Sunbury was then known. Of the twenty-five companies ordered to be raised, nine were placed under the command of Lt. Col. Conrad Weiser, eight under Major James Burd, called Augusta regiment, and sent to Upper Susquehanna, and eight under Col. John Armstrong along the west side of the Susquehanna.

Col. William Clapham, of Philadelphia, was directed to recruit a regiment for this purpose and build the fort according to plans prepared in London. The principal recruiting for this hazardous enterprise was done by Joseph Shippen, of Lancaster, who was commissioned a Captain. He was ably assisted by his distinguished father, Edward Shippen, and his brother-in-law, Major James Burd, who was placed next in command to Colonel Clapham. The story of the expedition, from the moment of signing up the first raw recruit, buying food, horses, canoes, etc., training the soldiers at Harris's Ferry, and building bateaux at Hunter's and Halifax, the treacherous march up the river, with the long halt at McKees, where it was necessary to build Fort Armstrong in the spring of 1756, to the landing at Shamokin, was the sad story of trial and privation, known so well to those hardy ancestors of ours in these early days. The actual work of building this fort fell to Lancaster countians and nearly every officer in the garrison came from this county, as did the larger portion of the command.

The correspondence carried on between Captain Joseph Shippen and his father, Edward Shippen, and brother, Chief Justice Edward Shippen, Jr., reveals not only the beautiful family life of the Shippens, but gives the most intimate account of the terrible ordeal through which those sturdy men suffered that the frontiers could be protected from French invasion and stealthy Indian incursions.

During the building of the fort, which required several years, there were many times when it was momentarily expected that the French and their Indian allies would swoop down upon and attack Fort Augusta. On many occasions it was necessary to despatch expeditions a long distance into the enemy's country, both as a matter of protecting the fort during its erection, and to ascertain the location of the towns of the enemy and their numerical strength. Each one of these expeditions was planned by a Lancaster countian and commanded by that intrepid warrior from your county, Captain John Hambright, than whom few ever gained a more respected reputation in our country. Later the command of this important fortification was entrusted to that capable officer, then Lieu. Col. James Burd. He was later succeeded by Capt. Joseph Shippen, and he by other Lancaster countians. In fact, the only prominent officer during this time, not from Lancaster county, was the unpop-

ular and incompetent commander, Col. Wm. Clapham, who was relieved of his commission by the Provincial Council, so it is a fact that the permanent settlement of what is now Central Pennsylvania was due to the bravery and sacrifice of the noble sons of Lancaster County.

Thus Lancaster County had furnished the majority of the troops and the ablest officers during the building of this most important of all the frontier fortifications.

Again, in August, 1763, volunteers from Lancaster County were sent to the West Branch Valley, as they were again years later, when they accompanied Col. Hartley and General John Sullivan in their expeditions against the Indians in Northern and Central Pennsylvania.

Among the large list of those from Lancaster county who went to the frontiers of our great state and there by their military service or permanent residence exerted a definite influence for the weal of their fellow men might be mentioned the following: Colonel Joseph Shippen and Major James Burd, brothers-in-law and most distinguished officers of the Augusta regiment, mention of whom has been previously made. General Edward Hand, who while not a success as an Indian fighter, rendered most distinguished services on the western frontier and later at Fort Augusta.

Captain John Hambright, who served at Fort Augusta from the first landing of troops until the garrison was ordered away by Provincial Council and the fort abandoned. Every expedition against the French and Indians which was sent from this advanced fortification during the years of its activity was led by this brave and capable officer. He remained in Northumberland county and became one of its most honored and valued citizens, holding many positions of honor and trust.

Captain John Boyd went into what is now Northumberland county and was one of the dashing and brave commanders who successfully fought the Indians until captured near Roystown. With a companion named Ross he was made to suffer extreme torture, and was an eye witness to the cruel burning of Ross and he awaited his turn at the stake, but was saved by an Indian squaw who claimed him as her son. He was taken to Canada, where he lived until released at the close of the war. He returned to Northumberland, where he became one of the most prominent citizens of the county, holding many positions of distinction and was a leading merchant and miller. The old Indian squaw visited him and he made two trips to Canada to visit among the Indians who had held him captive.

Bernard Hubley, son of Lieut. Colonel Adam Hubley, went into Northumberland County as an officer of the German regiment, sent to protect the settlers from Indian incursions when that country was stripped of its able-bodied men then serving in the Continental army. He became a prominent citizen of his adopted county and began writing a history of the Revolution which was destined to be the best story of that great war, but he died before the publication of the third volume, and he had planned the work to be of eight such volumes. The first two volumes are very rare and highly prized by those fortunate to possess copies.

Colonel Matthew Smith, a hero of the French and Indian war, one of the Paxtang Boys, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, vice president of the

State, a prothonotary of Northumberland county and its leading citizen until the time of his death, July 22, 1794, was a native of Lancaster county and rushed into the terrified West Branch Valley at the time the British and Indians swooped down upon Fort Muncy and Fort Freeland and threatened to capture or invest Fort Augusta.

When he died the following obituary notice appeared in Kennedy's Gazette, July 30, 1794: "Died, the 22nd inst, about sunset, at Milton, Col. Mat. Smith, aged 54 years, being one of the first patriots for liberty; went to Canada in the year 1756, and suffered extremities. He was once Prothonotary of Northumberland county and was vice president of the State. Was interred 23rd inst., attended by a large number of his friends and acquaintances, together with the volunteer company of Light Infantry from Milton, conducted by Major Pratt and commanded by Capt. James Boyd, who after marching about six miles to Warrior Run burying ground and shedding a tear over the old patriots grave, deposited his remains with three well directed volleys and returned home in good order." Another account of this funeral says his body was carried in relays by the volunteer soldiers the entire distance of six miles.

Lieutenant Samuel J. Atlee and Casper Weitzel were two other prominent Lancastrians; the latter was the first resident practicing attorney; he was a member of the Provincial Convention and became a Major in the Revolution.

Captain Stephen Chambers, the first lawyer in Northumberland county, came from Lancaster county and returned there, where he was killed in a duel fought May, 1789, by Dr. Jacob Rieger. Captain Chambers was a brilliant soldier and served with the 12th Regiment of the Continental Line. He served in several sessions of the General Assembly.

Other soldiers from Lancaster were Col. Thomas Hartley, Col. Thos. Lloyd, Abraham Scott, Captain and hero of Germantown and Brandywine, member General Assembly; Col. Alexander Hunter, who commanded Fort Augusta longer than any other officer and through the trying period of the Revolution. Col. William Cooke, who so ably commanded the 12th Regiment, was a native of Lancaster County. He was a member of Provincial Convention and the Constitutional Convention; member General Assembly, Judge of the Courts and held other positions of honor and trust. His son, John, was also a distinguished officer of the Revolution.

Adjutant Jasper Ewing, who went into Northumberland County with General Hand, became a permanent resident, attorney and leading politician of the county. Major James Crawford was also a native of Lancaster, as were many other officers of the early days on the Frontiers.

Charles Smith, author of Smiths Laws, went to Sunbury from Lancaster and afterwards returned there. He was one of the eminent lawyers of his day, became a Judge, married a daughter of Jasper Yeates, and built the beautiful home known as "Hardwicke."

In fact, so many of the early citizens on the frontiers came from old Lancaster that we descendants feel we belong to this county, of which you and the entire Commonwealth are so proud.

At the conclusion of the literary program the society passed a unanimous rising vote of thanks to the musicians, the speakers and others who lent their aid in making the social a success; and also to the Iris Club for the free use of their building for the occasion.

The remainder of the evening was taken up by the luncheon and the social hour.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

CHAS. I. LANDIS,
J. L. SUMMY,
A. K. HOSTETTER,
L. B. HERR,
H. FRANK ESHLEMAN,
I. C. ARNOLD,
GEO. F. K. ERISMAN,
D. F. MAGEE,
MARTHA BLADEN CLARK,
MARY N. ROBINSON,
ADALINE B. SPINDLER,
D. B. LANDIS,
HARRY STEHMAN, JR.,
Executive Committee.

Minutes of the April Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., 2 April, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society, owing to the death of its former President, Mr. George Steinman, held only a short meeting this evening. It was held at the regular place, the Society's room in the A. Herr Smith Building, the President, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding.

Only the most necessary business was transacted and there was no paper read.

The minutes of the March meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer's report was received and approved as follows:

Feb. 6, 1920—Date of last report\$219.96

Receipts\$100.00

April 2—Amount in Treasury.....\$319.96

Signed:

A. K. HOSTETTER,

Treasurer.

There were two nominations for membership in the Society: Mr. John W. Lippold, 439 S. Queen street, City, and Mr. A. L. Campbell, care Merchants and Manufacturers Association, Columbia.

These names, according to rule, were held over to be acted upon at the May meeting of the Society.

The report of the Librarian was deferred until the next meeting.

The following bills were presented by the Treasurer, Mr. Hostetter:

To the New Era Printing Co.\$174.19

H. L. Trout for book binding\$ 3.00

Mr. Hostetter, Treasurer, for postage.....\$ 15.00

Miss Spindler, Secretary, for postage\$ 5.00

The President, Judge Landis, appointed the following committee to prepare resolutions on the death of Mr. Steinman:

F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., Mr. A. K. Hostetter and Miss Martha B. Clark.

The meeting then adjourned.

ADALINE B. SPINDLER,

Secretary.

PAPERS READ

INDEXED

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF LANCASTER COUNTY,
By ALFRED L. KOCHER, A.I.A.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO GEORGE M. STEINMAN.
MINUTES OF THE MAY MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 5.

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LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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The Early Architecture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL FORMS
IN LANCASTER COUNTY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"No chapter in the history of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture," said Hallam. How true this is regarding the early architecture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Here we can find a large part of the history of the days of our forefathers recorded in the walls of the houses they built. From the time of the earliest home-seeking pioneers, living in crude log huts, to the more substantial structures of stone and brick, the record of their building progress is very legible and not easily mistaken. Were their buildings not preserved, we would be at a loss to know in what manner of dwelling these early colonists lived their lives, and how from the primitive form of the cabin was evolved the more finished type commonly referred to as "Colonial." In this locality, as would also be true in other regions, we are able to detect national habits of thought and racial characteristics expressed in the varied kind of architecture, depending upon the racial antecedents of the first settlers and builders.

By the general term "Colonial Architecture," we refer to the early architecture of the territory comprised within the present limits of the United States. Historically speaking, the buildings of the Colonists alone would be included under this title. To be exact, the period would end on the fourth of July in 1776; but architecturally there is not such a definite limitation. On the basis of the principle that styles in building must change slowly, and cannot be supplanted at will by new forms, we must allow for a long period of time before the so called Colonial style was brought to an end. As happened in Pennsylvania, we find "Colonial" houses erected as late as 1825, at which time "Greek Revival" influences and later the scroll saw work succeeded in gradually eclipsing the simple models of earlier days and bringing about a period of transition and decay.

Pennsylvania was settled by diverse nationalities; the English, German, Dutch, Swedish and Danish. It is but natural to expect that from such a conglomerate population a complex influence would be brought to bear upon the newly moulded architecture. It is noteworthy, however, that the building style as established by these settlers bore only slight resemblance to that of the countries from which they came. The new conditions met in this word, the new materials of building that were available, and the manner of living, caused a re-forming of their ideas of construction. Their houses here came to be unconscious expressions of the new conditions, colored by their new living; and in general were, at first, so simple as to scarcely come under the term "Architecture," which implies a conscious effort to build

beautiful and expressive buildings. There are two factors that did much to effect the architecture of Lancaster County. The first is the location at a considerable distance from the cities along the Atlantic seaboard, which were the main centers of building activity, and the second arises from the various nationalities of those who dwelt in this region.

The remoteness of the county tended to encourage originality in designing and stimulated the invention of new methods in building. Edward Eggleston has said that "it is difficult for the mind of man to originate, even in a new hemisphere." But oftentimes he was coerced into originality by force of circumstances. It was so with the early architectural efforts. Tradition was followed by the early settlers as far as was possible, and they then essayed original ventures because of force of circumstances. It is true that crude and even bizarre features crept in, but on the whole the results were commendable, because of the frankness with which definite needs were met.

The early architecture of this County may be characterized as being constituted of various national elements, but chiefly the Teuton and the Anglo Saxon. These elements are at first fairly distinct, and we find architecture of German derivation in one locality and the British in another. In time there was brought about a blending of some of the two influences into a new and unified kind of building, but, in general, they continued separate and apart, producing their own individual dwellings and more pretentious structures; each with its peculiar features. The line of demarkation between the two may be accounted for by the variance of the habits of living and thinking of the two classes. The German trait—at least the inclination of the pioneers of Southern Germany who first settled along the Conestoga and in the northern tracts of the county—was of a sectarian nature. The people were more or less amalgamated by religious bonds. They sought their own people as associates, they continued to speak the German language, they evidenced a closer affiliation with the old world than with their fellow home-seekers who were mostly Scotch-Irish.

The inclination toward clannishness by the Swiss and Germans is clearly expressed by such distinctly separate settlements as Ephrata, Lititz, and Manheim. These places have retained, even up to the present time, a racial isolation. Did not Franklin complain to the Provincial Assembly of the Commonwealth against the continuance of the speaking of German which threatened to make of the settlement a German colony? In 1741 the German and Swiss Mennonites of Lancaster County were represented to the provincial government of Pennsylvania as being "determined not to obey the lawful authority of government,—disposed to organize a government of their own." This strong feeling of nationality on the part of the Germans, their local independence and feeling of self-sufficiency naturally led to an architectural product which had a characteristic local flavor.

The English (in speaking of the English, the Scotch, Irish and Welsh are included) sought localities that recalled their native heath. The Scotch-Irish, being accustomed to a country with a rugged surface, choose the hill country for their homes. There the forests were lighter and more easily cleared. The Swiss and Germans, in looking about for land, were attracted by the heavy-timbered portion. "Where the wood grows heaviest, the soil

must be best," they reasoned. Thus the Germans selected the limestone valleys for settlement, in which were rich meadows and the heavy forest lands. Proud, the early historian of Pennsylvania, writing in 1778, said: "The Germans seem more adapted to agriculture and improvement of the wilderness; and the Irish, for trade. The former soon get estates in this country where industry and parsimony are the chief requisites to procure them."

During the time that the Germans were contentedly clearing land and permanently settling and improving their farms the English subjects were busy founding towns and becoming traders and merchants.

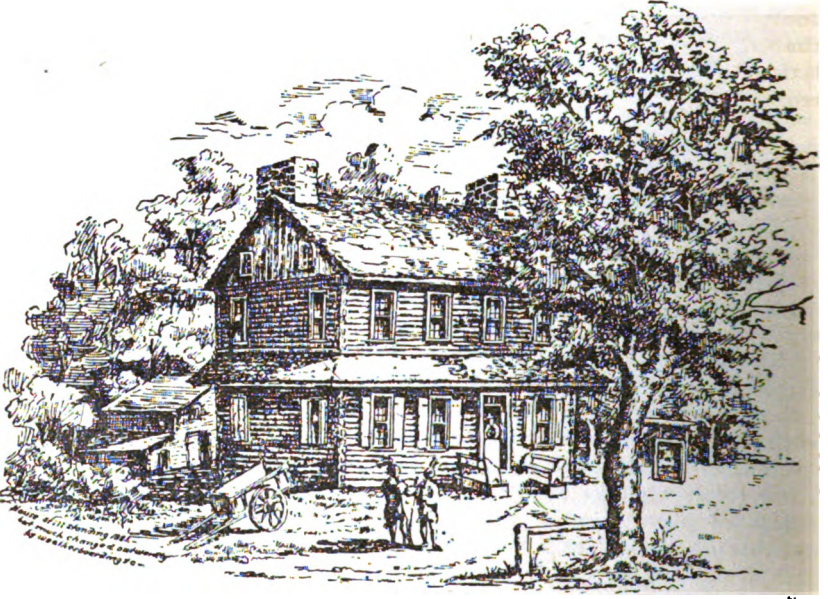
It is rather significant that of the twenty original townships in 1729, fourteen are named after places on the British Isles, namely; Lancaster, Donegal, Sadsbury, Drumore, Lampeter, Martock, Hempfield, Brecknock, Caernarvon, Salisbury, Derry, Earl, Warwick, and Leacock. The one German name is Manheim. One is scriptural—Lebanon. The four Indian names are, Conestoga, Peshtank, Cocalico and Tulpehocken. The decided majority of English township names seems the more remarkable, knowing that the preponderating number of first settlers were Germans.

Having called attention to the natural and national peculiarities of Lancaster County, let us examine the existing architecture of the eighteenth century with a view to determining the origin of various traits.

The first buildings of the pioneers were but log huts made of timber cleared from the staked-out claims. The logs of which the walls were made were squared and placed horizontally, one upon another. These logs were notched at the corners and the interstices between the logs were "chinked" with stones or wedges of wood and then plastered with lime mortar or clay. A few small windows admitted light, and slabs of wood served as a door. Instead of glass, skins of wild animals or oiled paper served to keep out draughts of wind. The interior usually consisted of one room with a fire-place at one end for cooking purposes and heat. The sleeping quarters were in the loft beneath the roof and were reached by a ladder. The floor was made of split logs, known as puncheons. Tables and benches were fashioned of split timber with legs of straight pieces of sapling. These buildings afforded but temporary shelter of a primitive sort and do not attain the dignity of architecture and so will not be considered here in detail. The only impress left upon later buildings by these first attempts consists of the pent roof, known to-day as the Germantown hood. This pent roof was used between the first and second story of Postelwaite's Tavern, a log building erected near Lancaster in 1729. This intermediate roof served the purpose of protecting the chinking of the log walls from being washed away by the beating rain. In the more permanent architecture which followed, this feature persists as an element of design, even though the walls of later architecture are of brick or stone. The sandstone mansion built by Martin and Ann Meylin in 1740 in Lampeter township, made use of it. Residence architecture of to-day, particularly in the vicinity of Philadelphia, has adopted this hood as a feature of many a town and city dwelling.

True architecture begins when construction possesses beauty as well as usefulness; when building, however simple, breathes a charm or gives a pleasure. The first building efforts failed to attain such standards. There

was too much of the dire need of hasty and sure protection from the Indian and the weather to give play to the promptings of the artistic instinct. The log cabins are therefore of the undeveloped, necessitous sort. As in literature we have a time of story-telling around the frontier camp fire before works of literary art are composed, so also there existed a period of fundamental beginnings in building. Both are episodes in respective branches of



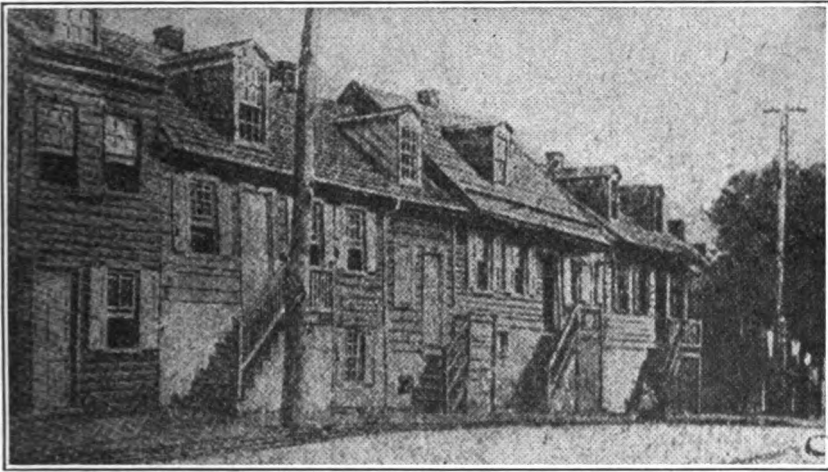
POSTELWAITE'S TAVERN.

art, both are necessary milestones in man's effort to express and adorn. In general, architecture that is worthy of the names, possesses thought-out construction and arrangement, with windows regularly spaced with a view to supplying light where needed, stonework dressed and jointed to produce an attractive effect, brickwork with patterned bond, pilastered doors and walls, or similar features intended for beauty as well as use.

The early architecture of German derivation in Lancaster County is clearly marked by racial attributes. The distinguishing characteristics include the steep roof, rows of sloping dormers, small windows, tile roofing, whitewashed walls, and wooden hardware. There is, in addition, a prevailing air of the medieval, both about the construction and the design. The existing examples in this region unmistakably hark back to the Middle Ages in Germany. The monastic halls of the religious community at Ephrata might have been modelled after medieval buildings found in many a German town such as Nürnberg or Mannheim. It seems important to note that the prevailing type of architecture of the cities and court circles of Germany of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was what is known as "Renaissance."

sance," while in the country districts and lesser towns the buildings erected were medieval in all but a few minor details. It is probable, therefore, that most of the German settlers were from rural districts.

Half-timber houses built by the Germans show the same medievalism. Investigation has brought to light several examples where this construction method was used. That this method of building *was* used in America has generally been overlooked. That its use was confined to the German is doubtful. In the half timber house, the walls are formed of heavy-shaped timber, framed together. The space between the framework is filled with lath and plaster or with brick. The structural parts are strengthened by horizontal members and braced by sloping struts. The framework is left



MIDDLE STREET BUILDINGS.

visible and presents a pleasing pattern with the wood contrasting with the background of plaster or brick. The chief value of this method of construction is esthetic, in that it satisfies the eye as to the stability and strength of the fabric. The wood choosen for these buildings was usually oak, fitted together with mortises and tenons and locked with wood pins.

The Moravian church near Friedensburg, just beyond the limits of the county is an example of this manner of building. Two photographs of Early Lancaster show the same construction. One house stood on the east side of Middle street and was built to accommodate General Forbes' troops after the fall of Fort Duquesne in 1758. The other was the Powell house which stood, until recently demolished, on the corner of Middle and Lime streets.

The Hans Herr House, built in 1719 near Lancaster may be taken as a specimen of the "small dwelling" architecture of the German type. It is particularly well suited for study because it has not undergone any change since the staunch walls were reared. The same Teutonic appearance which

was noted in the monastic settlement at Ephrata is indicated here. The walls are of stone, plastered and whitewashed. The roof is steep in pitch resembling the "Brother House." The small windows, with heavy wooden shutters, are fitted to wooden frames at the front and to stone frames at the ends of the house. The angles, both in stone and wood are mortised together. A chimney of large size, measuring over ten feet in width, divides the interior into two parts, and after contracting to a square,—crowns the saddle of the roof in the center. Dr. Schoepf, in his book "Reise durch Penn-



THE POWELL HOUSE.

sylvania" observed that "a house built by a German could, even at a distance, be readily distinguished from one erected by a Scotch, Irish or Englishman. Had the house but one chimney, and this in the middle (in der Mitte des Hauses) then it was a German's. . . . A house with a chimney at each gable end was erected by an Englishman."¹

The floor joists of the Herr house consisted of round logs, grooved at the sides and with narrow split boards fitted between and spaced so as to allow rye straw to be woven over and under the sticks. Beaten clay was then applied to the top of the straw with a resulting floor of earth for each story.

The building is notable for its expression of national tradition and be-

¹ There are exceptions to this general rule. In New England it was the custom to locate the chimney stack in the center of the dwelling of the seventeenth century for purposes of economy. All of the fireplaces were built around the chimney and also heat was conserved in that there were no cold walls to cool.

cause of its substantial, straightforward simplicity. There is a distinct charm in the ancient windows which rise story above story in what would presumably be a first floor and attic only. The trait of thriftiness and practically is well expressed in this straining effort to put to use every available cubic foot of space.



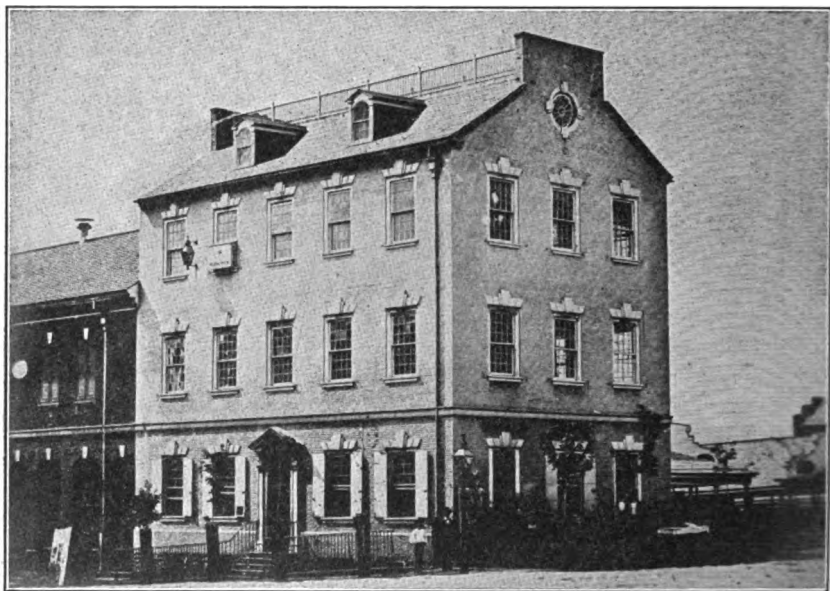
THE HANS HERR HOUSE.

Early dwellings of Lancaster have been influenced by this and other houses which clung to similar tradition. The house, illustrated, which stood on Middle street, follows the outlines and window spacing very closely.

Now, what effect did the German ideas of building have upon the commonly adopted style of architecture in Pennsylvania? The Teutonic influence is seen only in minor details. It is, perhaps, recognized in the fact that Pennsylvania buildings have an air of their own that is quite different from what is found in other localities,—the plain substantial and broad walls, the big roof, the abundance of dormers, the use more often of stone than of brick, and the stonework as often stuccoed as not.

It was more to the English subjects that the Pennsylvania style of architecture was due. The building traditions of the eighteenth century in England were transported with but slight changes to the new world. The Anglo-Saxon influence is recognized in the placing of buildings with the broad side to the road, resembling the English wayside cottage, the location of chimney stacks at the gable end and the symmetrical divisions of house fronts. Their chief gift was the arrangement of the floor plan and the introduction of the classic style of woodwork that adorned cornices, windows, doorways, mantles, and stairs.

England was in the midst of a revival of architecture, the inspiration for which was derived from classic models. The period was known as the late English Renaissance. The study of architecture was becoming popular and a knowledge of the subject was considered a mark of accomplishment. Books were being published in plenty, giving exact rules for the treatment of buildings, and for use of the "orders of architecture." Many of these handbooks found their way to the colonies and to the settlements in Lancaster County. Among the books of this nature that found their way to this region may be cited, "The British Carpenter" by Francis Price and the

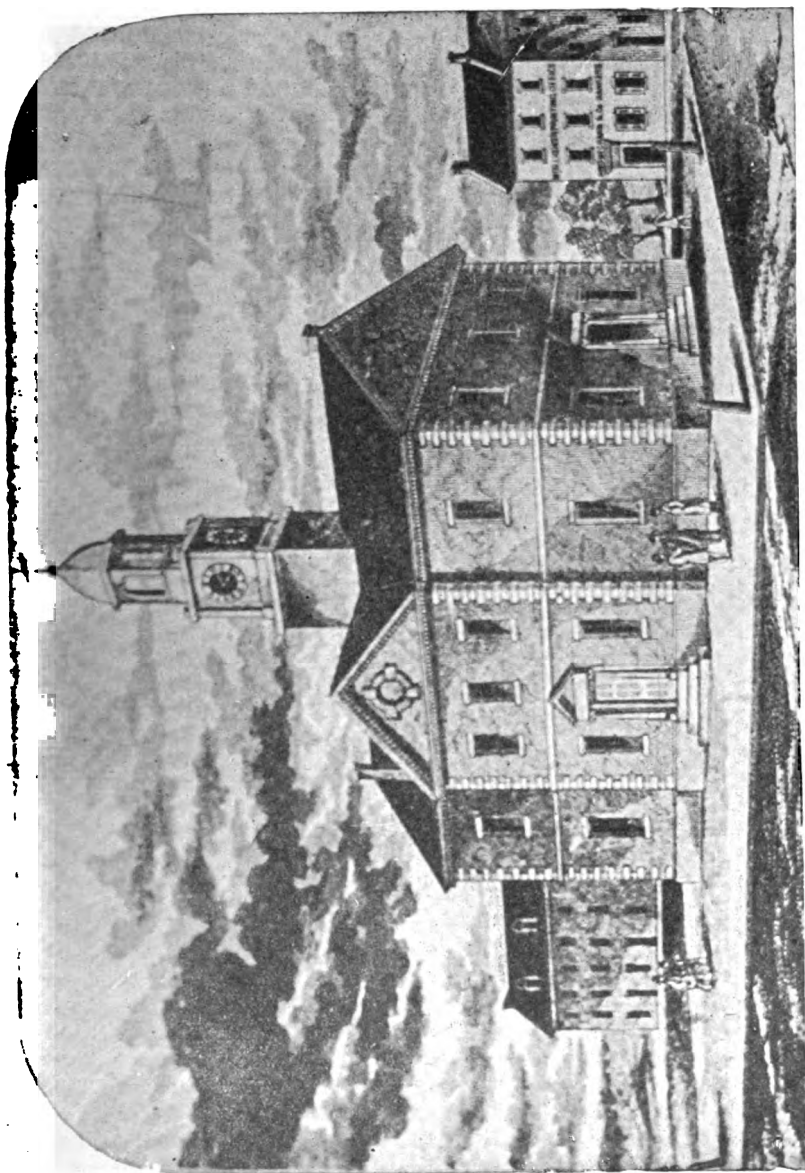


CITY HALL IN EARLY DAYS.

"Builder's Jewel" by Batty Langley. The latter published on its title page, assures you that it makes the knowledge of architecture "easy to the meanest capacity." The common use of these books meant that any one with a modicum of taste could design a facade, and—if he followed the rules—his proportions would probably be pleasing. The carpenters in particular made use of them. The effect was that the architecture of Lancaster County, as well as the entire state, was stamped with an English appearance.

There is abundant evidence of the influence of the "handbook architecture" in the city of Lancaster. The old Court House has its prototype or inspiration in Batty Langley's "Builder's Directory or Bench Mate;" the original City Hall could also be traced to drawings in a "Carpenter's Companion."

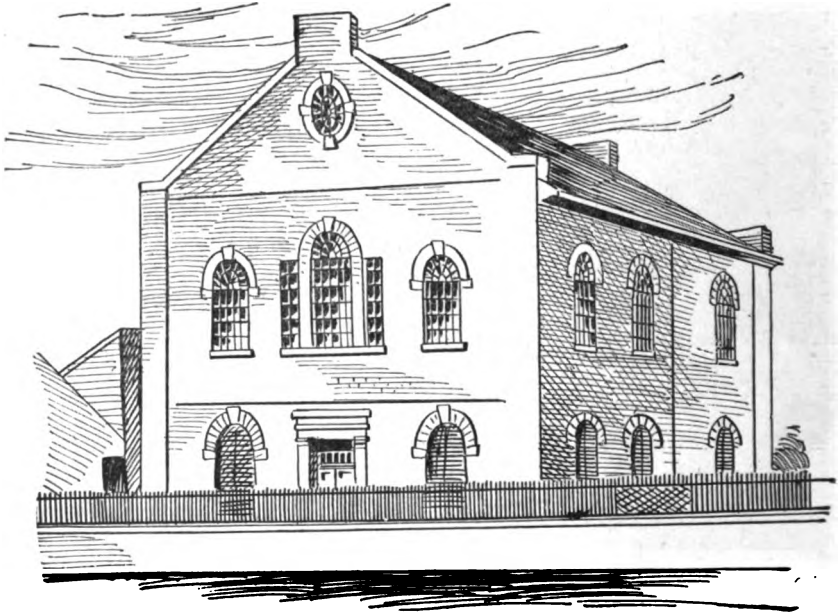
One should not assume that the buildings of the period were direct transcripts from these English works. The architecture thus inspired was



THE OLD LANCASTER COURT HOUSE.

adapted to new needs. Buildings were frequently lengthened, stories added, a doorway or tower included to serve a use and to increase the pretentiousness of the structure. That originality was freely drawn upon is shown by the variety of buildings erected; no two of which have been found to be identical in every particular. On the other hand, that they are derived from a similar source is attested by the general family resemblance that pervades their physical appearance.

The balanced regularity of Colonial architecture lent itself to the rapid mastery of the principles of design on the part of the builders. The checker-board spacing of windows on each side of a doorway, the observance of the

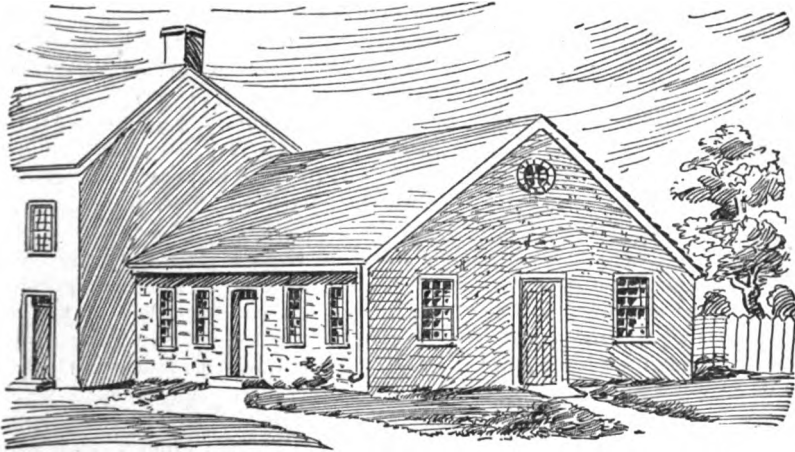


EARLY LANCASTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

rule that the doorway opening should be twice as wide as high, the regulation stipulating that the cornice be in proportion to the height of the wall, were readily grasped and put to practical use. The residence of William Henry Steigel at Manheim may be taken as typical of many a house of the eighteenth century. The stately home of General Hand at Rockford is almost a duplicate in appearance. The Mill House upon the outskirts of Lancaster is another early building with the same treatment. There is always the central doorway with a hall extending through the depth of the house, a drawing room on one side and a dining room and kitchen on the other. In most instances, the kitchen extends beyond the dining room forming a wing or "ell."

Occasionally,—for purposes of economy, or because of an abridgment of the more ambitious scheme, the doorway and one side of the house with

the "regulation two windows, are adopted to form a design. Similarly curtailed and sometimes enlarged homes were built in Lancaster and elsewhere. The George King home which originally stood on the corner of West King and Prince Streets had two windows on one side of the doorway and one on the other. The George Ross House of this city corresponds to the Steigel residence, excepting that it is adapted to a location in a town where building neighbors stand side by side on the sidewalk edge, and where higher property values encouraged the addition of a third story.



EARLY LANCASTER MORAVIAN CHURCH AND DATE-STONE.

The most evident note of originality in Lancaster architecture is shown in the small house with a single story. The stairway of this characteristic dwelling is usually placed parallel to the front of the house so as not to obstruct the sidewalk, and with a small porch and seat beside the door. It was such houses as these that were described by an English officer who was

captured at Saratoga and brought to Lancaster—a prisoner—in December, 1778, when he wrote: "Lancaster is the largest inland town in the United States, containing a population of about 3,000 Germans and Scotch Irish. Most of the houses have an elevation before the front door and are entered by ascending high steps, resembling small balconies, with a bench on either side, where the inhabitants sit and take in fresh air and view the people passing."

The porch arrangement which then was so popular speaks volumes concerning the life of those days. How much friendly gossip was exchanged with passers-by over this rail in the evening hours. How many a note of welcome, and otherwise, greeted the return of a home-coming spouse!

More than passing mention should be made of the various buildings of a religious use. Due to the religious ardour of the forefathers,—meeting houses and churches were subjects of careful attention, and frequently received the most generous gifts from church-wise adherents. But the diversity of styles; from the barn-like interiors of the simplicity-loving Moravians, to the dignified and magnificent structure known as the Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster.

In Trinity Lutheran Church, a work of the greatest importance was achieved. It represents the passing from the provincial forms (resulting from the location of Lancaster, away from the coastal cities of the first order) to the attainment of the highest results to which architecture of Colonial America was evolved. Trinity Lutheran Church stands at the crest of the wave development and must be ranked alongside of such worthy monuments as Christ's Church, Philadelphia, the old State House, Philadelphia, St. Paul's Chapel, New York, and St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S. C.

The corner stone was laid on May 18, 1761, and the construction progressed in a leisurely fashion until the dedication in 1766. That the builder took no small pride in his work is shown by the inscription at the base of the tower, Johannis Epple, 1761. The spire was erected at a later date as was also the case with the spire of Christ's Church, Philadelphia. There was a wave of interest or pride in the building of spires in the last decade of the eighteenth century, during which time eight or more examples were built in different parts of Pennsylvania, all possessing a certain similarity of base, bell tower and spire. That the builder of the body of the church was not responsible for the design of the spire is clearly indicated by the dissimilarity of the treatment of the woodwork in the two places. The spire is light, refined, and graceful; while the mouldings and pilasters of the door and interior are heavy and almost coarse. The woodwork crowning the tower was begun in 1792 and carried to completion in 1794. The wood figures representing the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, placed on the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest angles are the only examples of sculpture in conjunction with architecture in central Pennsylvania and a rather rare use of carving in the Colonial style.

The rather odd and meaningless doorways at the spire base is a slight defect, for certainly they have no use at the level that does not serve to accommodate spectators who may make use of the tower. Trinity Lutheran

Church in York, Pennsylvania, has a similar hooded arrangement at the same location but the clock dial is the reasonable excuse for the pedimented roof and the projection at the four sides.



TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH AND DATE-STONE.

Having considered the various forms of building indigenous to Lancaster County, attention should be called to special features that formed integral parts of the exteriors and interiors of these structures.

The doorway seems to have received the closest attention of any part of the entire exterior. It is not uncommon to find a simple or severely considered front, having a richly treated doorway. It was the one object on which was lavished the greatest thought and pride. There is an admirable theory or tradition that the front door is, so to speak, a bit of the inside whose duty it is to come to the front door with a welcome to the passer-by and to show without some touch of the hospitality within.

William Penn at the beginning of the founding of the colony seems to have set an example in this respect for he disapproved of the door that adorned his main entry way, and after his return from England, he ordered a new front door because, "the present one is more ugly and low."

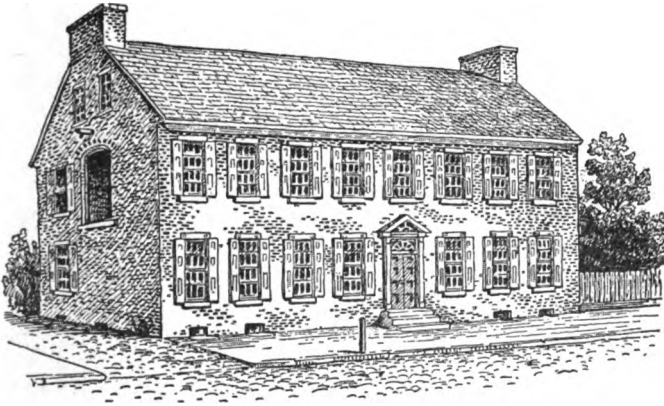
The adorning of the entryway frequently took the form of a pilastered framework, with a pediment or entablature above and with a semicircular or rectangular window over the door. The doorway of the old Mill House in Lancaster is an excellent specimen of the colonial style. There is a marked grace and refinement in the delicately turned and carved mouldings and an admirable practicalness of adopting the arched head in a door that penetrates a stone wall. Less ornate is the door from the house on the corner of Orange and Lime streets.

Doors are usually pannelled with the panels arranged crosswise or vertically, with the characteristic brass knocker. Occasionally the door is divided horizontally and swung in two parts like a Dutch door. The convenience of this form of door may be appreciated by one who has read the description of Townsend Ward: "Quaint it was, but how appropriate for a single-minded, hearty people among whom no deprecation was ever known until there came among them the evil days of single doors and locks and bolts,—while the lower half of the door was closed no quadruped could enter the dwelling house, but the refreshing air of heaven could, while the rest it afforded a leisure-loving people was most agreeable."

A somewhat similar door was peculiar to this locality, or at least it does not seem to occur elsewhere. It is a door of the Zahm house with a movable half, which may be raised to cover the glass halves in the upper portion at night or during a storm and lowered when shutters are thrown back and light admitted.

The fireplace was given a special prominence because of its being the sole means of heating the spacious interiors and found in every room. In the kitchen this feature served also for cooking purposes and was often of great width. The fireplace was sometimes built with exposed stonework having a great oak or walnut beam across the top of the opening and called the "mantel tree." It was most common to give grace by surrounding the fireplace with wood mouldings and with a mantel shelf above. The most pretentious designs were found in the living and dining rooms where fluted and reeded columns and pilasters and enriched moulds add dignity.

After the Revolution and coincident with the increased prosperity of the State, mantels were frequently imported from Philadelphia. Makers of mantels, doorways and window frames are known to have existed in Philadelphia and such objects of adornment were often a part of the cargo transported in the Conestoga wagons along the Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike. The rather unusual and elaborate mantels from the Diller House on Queen Street were of the imported variety and show a close resemblance to one



OLD LANCASTER STOREHOUSE.

another. The character of the classic ornament suggests affinity with the work of the Brothers Adams of England, who are known to have made popular the use of stucco ornament in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. That these specimens are American-made is attested by the close resemblance to similar examples recently found in Carlisle, one of which was inscribed by the maker, R. Wellford, Philadelphia, Deit. The name of "Robert Wellford, ornamental composition manufacturer," appears in the Philadelphia Directory for 1801.

The peculiar interest of the Lancaster specimens is due to the simple beauty of the ornament which consists of panels of female figures of Wedgewood inspiration, the garlands of roses, daisies, corn husks, Grecian urns and pendant drapery. The colonnettes with graceful caps are unique, being so unlike the work of local craftsman as to make their Philadelphia origin certain. Much could be said of stairways, cornices, windows, iron-work and other details which were treated so admirably by local builders, but the time does not permit.

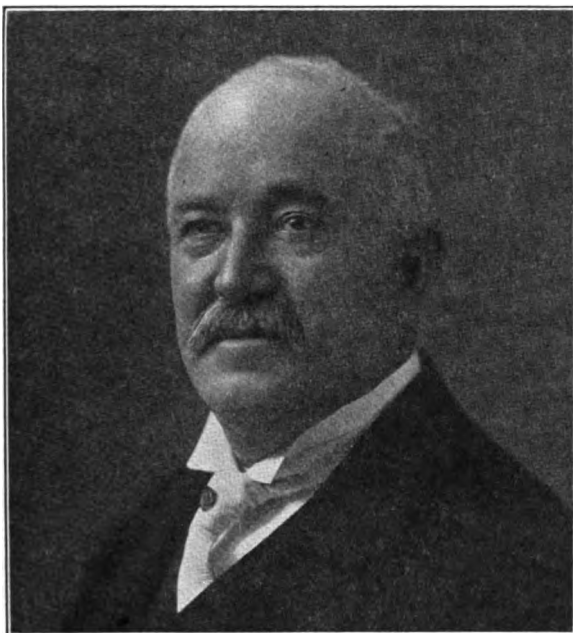
In glancing in retrospect over the architectural remains of these pioneers we should not raise the objection that so little importance was done. Rather the more praise is due when we consider the circumstances under which the work was created. If the buildings to which attention has been called seem insignificant, we must remember that the creating occurred at a distance from the main stream of the true and accepted architecture. The

builder had to create his architectural vocabulary, or to design from recollection or from plates of "orders" to aid in the detailing of special features such as windows or mantels, and which, generally speaking, were most freely interpreted. We must remember that he had to interpret, create and recreate his motives and that he had to construct the tools for fashioning them, for he found himself in the deepest obscurity, without material, without models, and without instruction.



THE OLD KRUG HOUSE.

We cannot but feel the highest respect for the skill and energy of the men who, while subduing the wilderness, and laying the foundation for the development of this country, also found time and energy enough to build buildings that were to be, not merely shelters, but that show a considerable degree of inspiration and excellent good taste. That we are to-day returning to the study of colonial forms, proves the sound judgment of these builders.



GEORGE M. STEINMAN.

Tribute of Respect.

The committee appointed by the President of this society at its last meeting to prepare a minute on the death of our late fellow member respectfully offer the following:

In the death of Mr. George Steinman one of the founders of this society and its first President and continuously serving as such from its organization until 1917 this society has sustained a loss which every one that knew him must most sincerely lament.

During the long period he presided over our deliberations his efforts on behalf of our success and welfare were steady, unremitting and earnest. Every movement for the society's advancement met with his hearty co-operation, both personal and financial.

His literary contributions to our proceedings were not numerous but he was always ready to forward any cause that had for its purpose the interests of our organization.

As a presiding officer he was ever courteous and fair to his fellow members and was justly popular in consequence.

He held a Life membership in the Society and his love for the organization was evidenced by his last Will and Testament which provides for a bequest of one Thousand Dollars to be paid to the society.

We extend to his surviving household our deepest sympathy in this great loss and our sincere thanks for this generous gift, and suggest that a copy of this expression be delivered to them, also that the same be published in the regular publication of our society.

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
MARTHA BLADEN CLARK,
A. K. HOSTETTER.

May 27, 1920.

Minutes of the May Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., May 7, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met this evening in the Presbyterian Chapel on East Orange Street because of the fact that the paper of the evening was illustrated and the Society's room is not well adapted to an illustrated lecture nor is it large enough to accommodate all the people in attendance at the May meeting. Mr. H. Frank Eshleman, Second Vice-President, officiated in the absence of the President and first Vice-President.

The business session was called to order at the usual hour; the Minutes of the April meeting were read by the Secretary and approved as read.

The Treasurer's Report was approved as read by the Treasurer, Mr. A. K. Hostetter. The following is the Report:

May 7, 1920.	
April 2, 1920, balance on hand	\$319.96
Receipts	20.00
	\$339.96
Payments	197.19
May 7, 1920, balance in Treasury	\$142.77

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER, *Treasurer.*

The Librarian's Report included the following exchanges and donations:

- I. The Western Pa. Magazine, April, 1920.
- II. The Enoch Pratt Free Library Annual Report, 1920.
- III. Pa. Appropriation Acts, 1919.
- IV. Wisconsin Magazine of History, March, 1920.
- V. German American Annals, Dec., 1919.
- VI. Washington Historical Quarterly, January, 1920.
- VII. American Philosophical Society Proceedings.
- VIII. Lycoming Historical Society Proceedings.
- IX. The Linden Hall Echo, February, 1920.
- X. Government Railroad Report, March, 1920.
- XI. Sir William Penn (Dr. Hugh Hamilton, Author), Dr. Hugh Hamilton.

The Report was adopted as read and the Society's thanks by unanimous vote was extended to all donors.

Two nominees presented at the April meeting: Mr. John W. Lippold and Mr. A. L. Campbell were duly elected to membership in the Society.

There were four new nominations for membership proposed:

Professor E. K. Hibshman, State College.

Mr. Michael K. Stauffer, 521 North Queen Street, City.

Mr. Charles Schlossman, 107 Ruby Street, Lancaster.

Miss Emma M. Bolenius, South Queen Street, Lancaster

These names were laid over, as usual, to be acted upon at the next meeting.

A communication from the Lycoming Historical Society requesting exchanges with the Lancaster County Historical Society was read and referred to the Executive Committee.

Mr. A. K. Hostetter, chairman of the special committee appointed to prepare resolutions on the death of Mr. George Steinman, read his "Tribute of Respect" which was adopted as read, a copy of which was ordered by vote to be sent to the family of the deceased, the "Tribute" also to be published in the Society's monthly publication for the current month.

A report of the Social held at the Iris Club April 16, by the Society, was read by Mr. Magee. It was decided to incorporate this report with the Society's monthly publication for April.

The Chairman, Mr. H. Frank Eshleman, suggested it was time to consider some plan and place for the regular outing which the Society usually takes in the fall. It was decided to leave the matter to a special committee, to be appointed later, for action. The chairman also requested that serious consideration be given by each member of the Society to the preparation of papers to be read before the Society in the future. He called attention to the fact that the Society must see to it that ten pamphlets get out yearly and made an earnest plea for volunteers, promising his aid to all who desired it. Lancaster County, he reminded us, is a province in itself with many good things, most important, remaining to be told. There are some very interesting papers promised for next season but there are still the most of them to be supplied.

The business meeting being adjourned the Chairman introduced Prof. A. L. Kocher who read the paper entitled "Old Architecture of Lancaster County." The paper which was most interesting illustrated was greatly enjoyed by the large audience. A discussion followed in which several members took part some of whom remained after the meeting adjourned for further talk on the subject.

A vote of thanks was unanimously extended to the writer. A vote of thanks was also given to the Presbyterian Church for their courtesy in lending the room in their Chapel. At the suggestion of Mr. Eshleman a vote of thanks was extended to the Iris Club for the use of their Club House for the Social, April 16. The meeting then adjourned.

MISS ADELINE SPINDLER,
Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

FORDS AND BRIDGES, ACROSS THE CONESTOGA,
FROM MORGANTOWN TO HINKLETOWN,

By M. G. WEAVER.

MINUTES OF THE JUNE MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 6.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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BY M. G. WEAVER.	
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Fords and Bridges, Across the Conestoga from Morgantown to Hinkletown.

COMPILED BY M. G. WEAVER.

We may enumerate the great advantages and note the wealth wrapped up in the powers of the Conestoga, and of the fertility of the soils rendered profitable by it and by its numerous branches in its sixty-mile course; but we must not forget that its flow has always been, and still is, a constant source of inconvenience, has caused the outlay of large sums of money, from time to time, and has taxed the ingenuity of all generations, to provide fords, aqueducts, and bridges, to be of the greatest convenience, to the largest number of people, and to be in keeping with the developments and the march of improvement of our great country. In this paper we will try to open the way for further inquiry and more detailed research, as to how, where, and by whom the Conestoga was first forded and bridged, from its source in the Caernarvons, to the Susquehanna.

Witmer's famous bridge at Lancaster was open for the public, twenty-three years before the first bridge (which was made of wood), long since gone to decay, was erected across the Schuylkill, at the foot of Penn street, Reading.

As early as 1831 the Commissioners of Berks County erected a stone bridge of three arches across the eastern branch of the Conestoga, at what is now Hartz's Mill, on the road leading from Morgantown to the mill and to the extensive limestone quarries and limekilns; a little beyond, and across the hills to Honeybrook, opening into the famous Chester Valley, beyond.

This bridge is just above the confluence of the two branches of the river, across the eastern branch, and, with repairs made thereon in 1910, it looks as the day it was first made. In 1868, the Commissioners of the same county erected two other bridges on the same plan across these same streams, on the course of the old Horse Shoe Road, which connected Lancaster with the Coventry Iron Works as early as 1738. One of them was west of Morgantown, across the western branch, flowing from Bard's Swamp, with one large, high arch; and the other across the eastern branch, east of the town, at Graham's mill, now out of use, with two lower arches. These bridges or aqueducts are built of solid masonry from the sandstones of the hills of this vicinity, and for durability, beauty of architectural design and finish, are not easily surpassed. Marble tablets, with the dates, names of Commissioners and builders, are walled into all these bridges.

The bridges across the Conestoga, down the stream, in their successive order, each have their important bearings on the developments of their respective communities.

The first bridge is on the State Highway, the most direct route from Morgantown across the Welsh Mountains to Honey Brook, just above Hartz's creamery, while the next bridge across the same stream, just below Grube's mill, is on the much-traveled road leading from the Forest Hills, connecting with the same State Road, half way up the mountain.

Another is on the public road leading to the now idle Garman's iron mines. Another, just below the historic mill, which was one of the first mills in the valley, built by John Jenkins, then owned by William Hoar, and now in the third generation of Hertzlers, on the much-used road, leading from the old California Hotel, and forest lands, crossing the river at this place, winding around the first series of hills, to the once famous Shirk's iron ore mines, Shirk's tannery, and crossing the mountain at its highest point in the township. This was the first, and, for a long time, the only road, and good fording place, beside the Coventry Road, and Morgantown fords, for the Conestoga Wagons, laden with the product of this part of the valley, to reach the old Paxton Road, on their way to Philadelphia.

The fords of Upper and Lower Windsor Forges were wide and more dangerous than the others, especially in winter and when the water was strong, during the spring months; and there were many agitations in favor of bridges at both of these places, and for Pool forge conveniences, on the next road below; but the arguments and influences of the taxpayers of the township, and county, for a long time prevailed against the petitioners for bridges, who were divided by three in their claims.

After great changes at the Windsor places, both these fords were bridged, but not until the iron trade had left the valley.

This was the center of activity of the Jenkinases, the life-long home of Robert Jenkins, who was in the Legislature in 1804, and in U. S. Congress from 1807 to 1812, and whose ancestral mansion is still owned and occupied by one of his descendants, Miss Blanche Nevin, between the two old fording places.

Benjamin Weaver, now Bishop of the Mennonite Church, owned most of the water power of Upper Windsor, when the stream was finally bridged.

At Pool Forge is found the first county bridge across the Conestoga in Lancaster County. It is a wooden bridge, built on the Burr plan by Levi Frick, in 1859, it is 83 feet long, nine feet above the water, on the road leading from the old forges and the turnpike, across the mountain, falling in with the Downingtown and Harrisburg turnpike on the summit. While the stream where it crosses the Conestoga turnpike in two parts, only a short distance below this bridge, is now, and for many generations was crossed by the traveling public, by fording, or over two low, plank bridges, not more than three feet above the water. The numerous signed petitions, with lists of names familiar to Caernarvon, not one of whom survives, show that this movement was popular.

All the products of the iron works around Churchtown, going to Philadelphia or to Lancaster, or points between, were carried through one of these nine mentioned fording places during nearly all of the time of their operations.

The next bridge down the stream is also a township bridge, of iron and wood, on the road originally leading from one of the Light, Weaver, News-

wanger and Evans mills (all now removed) to the Edwards plantation, to the west, on the spot which long served as a mark to which the lower owners might swell the waters of their dam. The meadow beyond the bridge was the playgrounds of the boyhood days of Jonas, William and Barton B. Martin, who became well-known business men of Lancaster, it having been owned by their grandfather and father, and is still in the family, owned by a sister, Mrs. Winters.

Bridge No. 2 is of the Burr plan, single span, crossing at the Old White Hall Mills, so named in connection with White Hall Mansion, near Churchtown, both owned by Cyrus Jacobs, and both willed to one of his sons. The bridge was not erected until 1878, when the mill was owned by Isaac Weaver. Through this ford all the thousands of barrels of merchant flour made and marketed from this, the only flour mill ever operated by Cyrus Jacobs, reached the public marts.

Caernarvon deserves commendation for the fact that of the ten bridges within its borders crossing the Conestoga, that township built eight, and maintains seven thereof, and they are all substantially built with cement and iron, except two.

Beyond the limits of Caernarvon there exists in the county, today, only one township bridge, across the Conestoga at Henry Martin's old saw mill, in East Earl (now John Z. Martin's), on the road leading from Terre Hill to the Weaverland road. It was substantially repaired and rebuilt by private subscription and the supervisors of the township in 1916.

In the minute book of the County Commissioners, No. 1, on page 109, August 9, 1753, is the following entry:

"And on the same time they agreed to build two stone bridges, One over the tail race of William Douglass's mill, in Caernarvon Township, on the Provincial Road, leading to Windsor Furnace, and the other over Conestoga Creek, on the Provincial Road, leading from Lancaster to the city of Philadelphia."

This last named place was where the well-known Witmer's Bridge now spans the river, but just where William Douglass' tail race crossed the Provincial Road, in Caernarvon, is not known, but it was somewhere on the Pool Forge Farm, as William Douglass and Edward Davis bought a part of that farm from Gabriel Davis, several years before these minutes were entered. Afterwards William Douglass bought other land nearby, on a branch of the Conestoga, on Lancaster Road, and afterwards the same tracts were handed down, successively, to Edward Hughs, James Old, Davis Old, Cyrus Jacobs, Hansom H. Jacobs, Jacob Jameson, Israel Blight, James DeHaven and Martin DeHaven, the present owner of a large part of Pool Forge Farm.

The Provincial Road was not on the present bed of the State Road, or old Conestoga pike, at this place, but was farther south; and while the tail race extended to and partly across the Pool premises, the mill may have stood across the line on the Windsor premises. But, so far as as yet been discovered, the bridge was never built, owing to the erection of several new dams soon after that date, and to the development of the iron trade, which caused the mill on these premises to be discontinued, and because of the change of the course of this and other roads, in, about and leading to and from Bangor Churchtown.

The Douglasses were no doubt closely connected with the Davies, and with the erection of Bangor Church, as the names E. Davies and I Douglass are carved on one stone on the east wall of the church, with many other names in the same wall.

The first bridge spanning the Conestoga, in East Earl, is the one crossing the swelling mark of Spring Grove Forge Dam, which reached to this point, when Cyrus Jacobs stopped the onward flow of the river, in 1798, by building a large breast across the bottom lands, half a mile down the stream from this place, and erected his forges between the breast and the old fording place below. The river above the dam was crossed by fording, and by township bridges, until 1898, when an iron bridge, No. two and a-half, 76 feet long, was erected by the county.

The next bridge, No. 3, is a Burr plan structure, built in the fall of 1872, and is 120 feet long, at Spring Grove mills, now owned and operated by Weaver W. Hurst. It was built to take the place of a wooden township bridge, which had done service at this place for some time. This place was mostly developed by Thomas Edwards, David Morgan, Cyrus, Samuel O. and William B. Jacobs, until it became the most extensive old-time charcoal forge on the Conestoga. In 1866 it passed into the hands of Peter Zimmerman and Joseph Oberholzer, who erected a large merchant mill on the site of the old forge.

The agitation for bridges at this place and over the ford on the next road below was long, and at times waxed rather warm, and the reason why this building was deferred so long was because the fording on the lower road, which had the distinction of being a State Road since 1822, leading from the Lancaster and Morgantown turnpike to Reading, had a substantial county bridge in 1846; and by private enterprise of the Jacobses and other influences a township bridge was erected and maintained at Spring Grove soon after that time.

One of the arguments in favor of the lower road bridge was that the volume of water was much greater there, by reason of the inflowing of Cedar Run, a strong mountain stream rising at the foot of the Welsh Mountain, and which often becomes a raging torrent of itself; while at Spring Grove, at the time when both hammers were operated in the forges, more than half and sometimes nearly all of the water flowed down the tail races; thus dividing the depths and the dangers of fording the stream.

Bridge No. 4 was a reality twenty-six years before the county bridge at Spring Grove.

Among the several petitions for bridges at these two fords there is one for Spring Grove, dated February 5, 1841, which, together with the favorable report of the viewers, reviews the fact that the ford is often dangerous, and at times can not be crossed for several days at a time owing to floating ice and spring freshets, and that there is no bridge crossing the river between this place and Morgantown, a distance of seven miles, to the eastward; and only one bridge westward across the same stream between this place and Hinkletown, at the Harrisburg and Downingtown pike, a distance of six miles, excepting an insecure, unsafe bridge at Martin's, formerly Sensenig's, mill.

Therefore, 1841 found the Conestoga turning the wheels for fourteen mills, as many saw mills, and four forges, from Hinkletown eastward, a distance of thirteen miles, and only one bridge of any sort between the Hinkletown bridge and the bridge south of Morgantown, for the convenience of crossing from one side of the stream to the other, of the hundreds of great Conestoga Wagons, loaded with the products of the farms, charcoal, iron, and the mills. These conditions must have lasted several years longer, as Baltzer Snader, a man now past 88, residing near Center Church, distinctly remembers carrying the only mail from Bowmansville, in Brecknock township, to Blue Ball, on horseback, every Friday morning, and back by way of Klauser's store, now Terre Hill. He went by way of the State Road, or Weaver's Mill Ford, where his horse liked to drink, and returned across the rickety bridge at Martin's mill, on his way to Terre Hill.

These mail-carrying trips may seem to have no connections with the subject, but it may be of interest to add that when young Snader wished to make an early start he went to the starting place of his mail route, Bowmansville, the evening before, and brought the mail bag to his home, which was a mile on his way, and made an early start, and could return to his home correspondingly earlier.

The first viewers to make a favorable report for a bridge at Weaver's, now John W. Burkholder's, mill, known as No. 4, was made ten years before its erection; the petition which was fruitful of its building was, among many others, signed by Hon. William Heister, who had represented the county in Congress from 1831 to 1837, and by Hon. Anthony E. Roberts, who afterwards filled the same place from 1866 to 1869.

The State Road was the thoroughfare for great traffic between New Holland, Blue Ball and a large section of farming country, in connection with Reading; the palatial home of the Kitteras' was a mile beyond this ford to the north; they worshipped with the Presbyterians at the Pequea Meeting House, beyond the Welsh Mountains; and every time they attended divine worship, or took their products to the markets, by way of the great roads lying to the south, they crossed this ford; the Hon. Jonh W. Kittera, member of Congress, from 1791 to 1801, no doubt received the foundation of his earlier education in the school connected with that congregation, and often used this fording place to and from his home. And across the same ford he followed the remains of his parents and brother to their last resting place at Pequea. He sold the farm to Michael Kinzer, whose great-grandson, J. Roland Kinzer, and brothers still retain a part thereof.

The Lutherans and the Reformed congregations had their places of worship at New Holland, on the south side of the river, and at Bergstrasse, Center and Muddy Creek, on the north; the Mennonites had a meeting house at Weaverland, on the south side, and one each at Bowmansville and in the Turkey Hill district, on the north side. This fact may have had its influence on the building of bridges.

The Edwards, Olds, Jacobs, Hambrights and others adhering to the Episcopal Church, being principally of Welsh and English extraction, residing mostly on the north side of the river, needed no fording nor bridges to attend divine worship, at Bangor, nor to reach the chapel services at Spring

Grove; nor did they cross the river with their dead, to reach the cemetery at Churchtown, or the old Welsh graveyard, near Terre Hill.

The next crossing is easily effected by the township bridge before mentioned, which takes the place of two fords, the one being at the boyhood home of the late A. W. Snader, Esq.

Bridge No. 4½ as a single arched, wooden structure, at Wayne H. Gehman's mill, on the road leading from Blue Ball to Terre Hill, which place had the first bridge between Hinkletown and Morgantown. But there was no county bridge there before A. D. 1881. The mail carrier, Baltzer Snader, referred to before, distinctly remembers that the first bridge here was so unpopular among many teamsters and horseback travelers that they refused to drive or ride over it, but used the ford below the bridge.

But why was this place singled out for the convenience for a bridge long before any other place along a thirteen-mile stretch of creek?

May these be the reasons? The Great Road, from Lancaster to Coventry and thence to Philadelphia, and the Paxton Road, just a little farther south from this place, were the only openings to the eastern markets for the valley, along the foot of the hill, which is now crowned by the busy borough of Terre Hill, and in the sloping valley towards this ford, northward, were nestled about a dozen fine farms, mostly settled by the Overholzers, who had intermarried with the Weavers and the Landises. The Kiteras had another farm at the west end of the hill-slope, and the Galts and several other Presbyterian neighbors held a large portion of the rich farming lands southwest; the surplus products of this section, as well as the products of the country farther north, all poured across the river towards the best markets, at this place. Then there were at one time five distilleries in operation along the foot of this hill. The Overholzers and the Weavers worshipped at Weaverland, and buried their dead near that place; while the Galts and the Kiteras worshipped at Pequea, and were interested in the formation of a small congregation at Blue Ball, which resulted in the building of the Cedar Grove Presbyterian Church, about 1788 or 90, and this was the natural and easiest place of concentration for all these parties to cross the river, for their various destinations, and as the generations succeeded one another, they became the more interested in this particular crossing, and consequently the first bridge was here erected.

Bridge No. 5, at Eli W. Martin's mill, is a cement bridge, which took the place of the iron bridge, moved farther up the stream, which was first erected in 1870, at what was then Rupp's mill, over the old ford, which was on the public road leading from the farm of Captain Henry Hambright, west of Terre Hill, to this place (now Martin's mill station, on the Terre Hill trolley road), and which crosses the stream just above the mill on its own structure.

Nos. six, seven and eight are wooden, shingle-covered bridges. No. 6 was built in 1886, at what was then Daniel Overholzer's mill, afterwards Nolt's electric light plant, and formerly for many years Galt's grist and merchant mill, one of the early mills in this community.

No. 7, on the road leading from Martindale to New Holland, near Isaac Sensenig's old clover mill, where a bridge was badly needed long before the first house of the busy village was built, was erected in 1857. The petitioners say the fording was extremely dangerous and deep.

No. 8 is a wooden bridge, at the mill and famous "Binder Tongue Carrier" factory of John S. Kurtz, long known as Bear's mill, but to the older inhabitants known as the Christian Sensenig mill. Here his sons, Levi and George Sensenig, grew to manhood, but came to Lancaster in 1867, and were long and favorably known to the live stock trade and in political circles of the county. Here, while Isaac Bear owned the mill, during the Centennial year, after many hotly contested questions and views and reports as to the propriety of a county bridge, agitated by the Sensenig's, long before the Civil War, a wooden bridge was erected and is still doing good service.

The iron and steel bridge spanning the Conestoga at Hinkletown, on the old Paxton Road, more familiarly known as the Harrisburg and Downingtown turnpike, later as the Clay and Hinkletown pike, has a varied history; the first bridge here was erected and thrown open to the use of a grateful public, principally by the efforts of a single individual, George Hinkle, an innkeeper and farmer in that village, sixteen years before Binkley's, and eighteen years earlier than Witmer's famous bridge was open for traffic.

Here, where the Paxton Road, which was laid out from the Susquehanna to Downing's mill, in 1736, crossed the Conestoga, Mr. Hinkle owned a large tract of land, lying on both sides of the stream, and on both sides of the road, and lived with his wife and family of small children, conducting a hotel on the north side of the river, and on the east side of the road. The road was much used, and the fording place was wide, and, being only a short distance below the confluence of Muddy Creek, was rendered difficult and extremely dangerous by spring freshets, floating ice, or by summer rains; and Conestoga Wagon teams and travelers from a distance were often detained for days at a time on either side of the stream.

This inconvenience to the traveling public, many narrow escapes, and several drownings of those who risked themselves into the raging torrents before the eyes of the enterprising innkeeper, spurred him on in the path of more and lasting service to his fellow man, and he accordingly went to the work of erecting a bridge of wood and stone across the stream, with the abutments and the approaches to the bridge on his own premises, east of the old fording place.

The exact year when the bridge was started or finished is not yet known, but by a deed, dated March 26, 1772, and recorded in the Recorder's Office at Lancaster, in Deed Book P, on page 248, we learn, by a long recital, that George Hinkle, of Earl township, Lancaster county, of the Province of Pennsylvania, innkeeper, had erected a bridge across the Conestoga, in the township aforesaid, "Where it joins the great road, where the said road crosses the said creek, leading from Philadelphia to Paxton Township, in said County, on his own private property, and that the public were not included in its use without special license to and from the said George Hinkle." The convenience and great usefulness of the bridge was represented by the Justices, Grand Jury, and Commissioners, and it was "Resolved, That the said George Hinkle should be paid for the erection of the bridge, and for the ground covered by the approaches thereto, and upon which the abutments rest."

The report was signed by Emanuel Carpenter, Caleb Johnson and James Cuningham.

Therefore, for and in the consideration of the sum of one hundred and forty-four (144) pounds, he transferred and conveyed the bridge and all its belongings and approaches to Adam Orth, Casper Sheaffer, the younger, and Thomas Clark, Commissioners of Lancaster County, and the inhabitants thereof, and all others, His Majesty's subjects, passing and re-passing over the same.

In 1796, the following petition was presented to the Judges of the Courts of the General Quarter Sessions, for Lancaster County:

"We the undersigned inhabitants of Earl Township, in said County, dwelling near Hinkletown (so called), do certify that the bridge erected many years ago, across the Conestoga Creek, near the place aforesaid hath been for several years previous to the erection of the dam and mill near the same creek, by Jonathan Hinkle, in a decaying state, and that said bridge, though a County property, hath in former years, often been repaired by small subscriptions and the exertions of the neighborhood, without any charge to the county. But that the wooden works of the said bridge ought now to be build up anew; hence it will require considerable expense, and there is every reason to apprehend that unless the said bridge is timely repaired by the County Commissioners some accident will happen to persons crossing it. We therefore beg the interference of the Court to take order thereon. We further certify that the said bridge by natural wear and tear, causes the situation in which it now is, and that in our opinion the bridge hath not suffered any damages by reason of the mill and dam aforesaid, save only that the washing of the dam at the entrance of the bridge, the abutment thereof hath been damaged. But that we were lately eye witnesses that since the last rain, and consequent high floods, Jonathan Hinkle hath halled a considerable quantity of stones and filled up the damaged places in a manner now altogether passable."

Then, again, in another petition, dated August, 1798, numerously signed by influential men over the eastern end of the county, the petitioners say, "George Hinkle, of Earl township, now deceased, during his lifetime, to the best of some of the petitioners remembrance, between thirty and forty years ago, undertook by subscription of the neighborhood to build and finish a bridge across the Conestoga, upon the Paxton Road, near the place called Hinkletown, in Earl Township, and by deed executed March 26, 1772, conveyed the same to the County of Lancaster"

If the bridge was built over thirty years before 1798, it must have been built before 1768, possibly about 1760.

One year later, May 30, 1799, John Bitzer (miller), having built a mill dam close to, and across the said bridge, by reason of which the abutments and casings on both side of said bridge were greatly damaged, he made a binding agreement to protect the same, and to repair it when necessary, and gave a heavy bond to do so. Recorded in Book E, Volume 3, on page 366, in the Recorder's Office.

But the abutments were built better than they knew, as they bore the old bridge to 1837.

George Hinkle died in the prime of life, at the age of 61 years, on March 13, 1778. His remains rest in the beautiful cemetery belonging to Bergstrasse

Lutheran Church, of which he was an influential member, and which spot overlooks the Conestoga Valley. He left a widow, Barbara Hinkle, several married daughters, and also four sons, under the age of 21 years. His will, dated July 10, 1777, is on record in the Register's Office, Deed Books, PP, pages 197, 330, 334, 335 and 528, and RR, pages 505 and 597, and UU, page 437, and Volume 5, on page 377, will give proof of his influence in the community.

The old bridge, with its several sieges of repairs brought about by many petitions, lasted until 1837, when its location was changed, to the site of the present structure. It was then replaced by a wooden Burr plan bridge, with two arches, and a walk for pedestrians at the side. Afterwards it was increased to three arches, and the space for sidewalk was thrown into the driveway space, giving room for two carefully driven teams to pass each other.

In 1835, a numerously signed petition for a new bridge at Hinkletown was presented to the Court, and on January 12, 1836, Richard Heitler, Esq., John Gross, innkeeper, John Wilson, Esq., Roland Diller, Esq. (who wrote the report), Gabril Davis, and Isaac Swope, were appointed viewers as to the necessity of the same.

Their report was rather long, and stated that the old bridge was too narrow, dangerous and unsafe, that in times past there was much damage done and also many lives lost because of its unsafe condition, and they recommended that the new bridge should be placed farther down the stream, below the mill, and the approaches to the same be correspondingly changed. They add that they believe this was the original location of the road.

Their recommendations were adopted and their report confirmed, and the erection of the new bridge was begun in 1837, but, when it was finally inspected in 1839, it was found that the longest span, of two hundred feet, had sunken seven inches, owing to the removal of the false or preliminary stays, before the shorter arch or span, of one hundred feet, was completed, pushing the one abutment, upon which the two arches rested, northward. No fault was found with the manner of construction nor the material used, which were according to specifications, but for a precautionary protection to the public, an extra pillar was erected under the long span, and the arch was raised. The structure stood and did good service for fifty-five years, when, in 1896, it was replaced by the present beautiful and substantial iron and steel bridge, 288 feet long, with a plank driveway sixteen feet wide, seventeen feet about the low water mark, and 331 feet above sea level.

With the petition of 1836, still remaining in the Office of Quarter Sessions, are filed several letters or petitions of information, urging the building of a new bridge, the writers giving their several reasons, principal among which were that they knew of their own knowledge that in 1799, when John Swar's team and carter (meaning the driver) were drowned, and that afterwards, John Wolf's team fell into the dam, and that a team from Harrisburg went over the bridge, and one horse was drowned, the water being high, and that afterwards, Isaac Davis, going across the bridge in a gig, his horse took fright, and shoved the gig against a tree on the east side of the bridge, which saved horse, gig and man from falling into the dam; that the last instance

happened last fall (1835) when Jahoe Fassnacht was going to cross the bridge, in a carriage, with his wife, a young baby, her mother, and a younger sister, they got into the stream, and went down the current, and the wife and baby were drowned, but the others and the horse were saved.

The report was accompanied by a neat draft, showing the situation of the old bridge, the new location, the location of the mill and of the hotel which was built by the Hinkle. The house is in good repair and is a fair sample of masonry work a century and a-half ago.

The greater part of the information here noted and compiled was gathered from the public records at the Court House, but we feel especially indebted to Deputy Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court J. M. Groff for valuable assistance rendered in the search for bridge records, and to Mr. George Bard, who resides in his palatial home, with his family, in the quiet village named after George Hinkle, where he was born in 1837.

George Hinkle should be regarded and remembered as a great public benefactor (and his last resting place might with propriety be so marked), for having contrived and erected what we believe to have been the very first successful bridge across the Conestoga anywhere.

Every day, for many years, heavily laden Conestoga Wagons, to and from Philadelphia, from the the hundreds of farms of northern and western Lancaster County, and from the counties beyond the Susquehanna, and to Pittsburgh, from the eastern seaboard, poured across this bridge, their owners having studied their routes so as to cross the Conestoga at Hinkletown; this brought many a weary pilgrim and carter with his large team to enjoy the accommodations of this old wayside inn, of George Hinkle. It was afterwards conducted by his widow, Barbara Hinkle, their son, George Hinkle, in turn by his widow, Susanna Hinkle, and afterwards by the Youndts for many years. So great was the overflow of guests at this place that two houses of a similar character were opened on the opposite side of the stream, in eastern Hinkletown, for them.

The lumbering wagons and carts with their loads of wounded and sick soldiers from Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli, on their way to Ephrata and Lititz, in the fall and winter of 1777 and '78, rolled smoothly over this, the only bridge in their weary journey over the valleys and hills of Chester and Lancaster counties.

The common fellowship and the ingenuity of man caused the streams, chasms, ravines and rough places to be spanned by bridges, not for any narrow-minded desires for gains, but from the earliest history of these achievements to the present time, the comfort of the strangers who cross our borders was always considered, as well as the welfare of the neighbors who resided on the opposite side of the stream.

By these unselfish devotions, the common brotherhood of man, and the results of its fullest development, have been exemplified along the banks of the Conestoga, to the enduring credit of those who have long ago crossed their last stream.

New Holland, Pa.,
May 31, 1920.

Minutes of the June Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., June 4, 1920.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in the Society's auditorium, in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Building, this evening, at the regular time. Mr. H. Frank Eshleman, officiated.

The minutes of the May meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer's report showed the amount in the treasury on date to be \$202.77, and is as follows:

May 7, Balance on hand	\$142.77
Receipts	60.00

June 4, amount in treasury	\$202.77
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(Signed.)

A. K. HOSTETTER, Treasurer.

The Librarian reported the following donations and exchanges received during the past month:

A fac-simile of the American Weekly Mercury, Vol. 3, 1721-1722, republished by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania; a gift from Miss Lillian Evans, of Columbia.

A number of old newspapers from the Watts de Peyster Library at Franklin and Marshall College.

The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, from the University of California.

The 1918-1919 Report of the Grand Rapids Public Library.

The Official Record of the Indian Conference at Syracuse, March 6-7, 1919, from the Onondaga, N. Y., Historical Association.

Revolutionary Soldiers of Onondago County, N. Y., from the same donor.

An old Steinman Account Book, from H. C. Shenk.

Photograph of the will of Baltzer Maurer, from Harold Weaver Mowery.

Large map of Lancaster County, dated 1852, from Mrs. A. K. Hostetter.

The report was accepted and the Secretary ordered to send the thanks of the Society to each donor.

The following applicants proposed for membership at the May meeting were elected: Michael K. Stauffer, Professor E. K. Hibshman, Charles Schlossman, and Miss Emma M. Bolenius.

New applications for membership, June 4:

Miss Stella W. Oster, 128 East Lemon street.

Levi B. Huber, R. F. D. No. 5, Lancaster, Pa.

Harry N. Nissley, care Union National Bank, Mt. Joy, Pa.

Miss Marie P. Orr, 31 North Lime street.

Miss Sara E. Hoak, 29 East James street.

These applications, under the rules, were held over for final action until the next regular meeting.

A letter from Mr. George S. Franklin, in response to the resolutions sent by the Society in memory of Mr. George Steinman, was read by Mr. Hostetter.

A letter from the Minnesota Historical Society, asking for a complete file of our publications, either as an exchange or on any other basis, was referred to the Librarian to investigate what they have to give as an exchange for our very valuable publications or whatever terms other than this were commendable.

A communication from the War Department, Graves Registration Service, Cemeterial Division, was read. It stated that the Department was preparing an authentic narrative of the Graves Registration Service during the World War, and desiring to ascertain what, if any, organized service of this nature was rendered during the various wars in which our nation was involved—Revolutionary, Mexican, Civil—under auspices other than the Graves Registration Service, called upon this Society to furnish any information it could on this subject. The letter was referred to Mr. D. F. Magee for investigation as to what could be done, if anything, in answer to their request.

A letter from Mr. Daniel Gibbons, of New York, stated that his sister, Mrs. O. D. Brubaker, of Bird-in-Hand, wished to present a portrait of the late Hon. Joseph Gibbons, one of the workers in the underground railway, to the Society if the Society desired to have it. The Society voiced its pleasure at the gift and instructed the Secretary to write accepting the donation with the appreciation and thanks of the Society.

Mrs. Mary N. Robinson offered to present to the Society, if the Society desired to have it, a spray of edelweiss plucked from the Alps by President Buchanan. The Society gratefully expressed its pleasure and accepted the donation with appreciative thanks.

The subject came up for discussion as to what should be done about the Society's publications, as the newspaper heretofore publishing the periodicals has recently changed ownership. A number of members took part in the discussion, and it was decided to appoint a committee to see what could be done on a purely business basis—the committee to call upon the various publishers of the city to inquire for the best terms. The chair appointed D. F. Magee, Miss Martha Clark, L. B. Herr, A. K. Hostetter and Hon. John H. Landis to take up this matter at the earliest opportunity. The committee was given power to act upon its own assurance as to what was best to be done.

The business affairs of the Society being finished, the paper for the evening was announced: "Fords and Bridges Over the Conestoga from Morgantown to Hinkletown," by Mr. M. G. Weaver, of New Holland. The paper was very interesting and instructive and received warm praise and appreciation from all who heard it. A vote of thanks was unanimously given to the author and the paper was handed over to the proper committee for further action.

ADALINE B. SPINDLER, Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

GLEANINGS FROM SOME OLD WILLS,

By MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON.

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL OUTING.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE ZIMMERMAN-CARPENTER
FAMILIES OF LANCASTER COUNTY,

By ALBERT K. HOSTETTER.

EMANUEL CARPENTER, THE LAW GIVER,

By D. F. MAGEE, Esq.

THE LEGISLATIVE CAREER OF EMANUEL
CARPENTER,

By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.

MINUTES OF THE SEPTEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 7.

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LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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Gleanings From Some Old Wills.

BY MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON.

It is said, and often with truth, that continuations are failures. But there are exceptions to all rules, and it is to be hoped this may be one of them.

When the request came to prepare a paper for this meeting, there were several subjects which suggested themselves. Perhaps it was a certain amount of indolence which induced the following out of "the lines of least resistance," and it seemed possible that a few glimpses of the ideas and modes of those who lived and moved in this fair county of ours, one hundred and sixty years ago, might prove of some interest to us. So to-night you are asked to listen to some gleanings from the old wills to be found on record at our Court House. Quaint and curious, and perhaps laughable though they may seem, they are quoted *verbatim*. Neither the spelling nor the phraseology is changed, and they are all to be found in Book B, Register's Office. The pages are given, but not the names, except in a very few instances.

The old wills, as a rule, begin with a certain form of words, generally expressing a desire to be buried in a decent and Christian manner, with hope of the resurrection. Occasionally the testator states where he desires that his earthly tenement shall be laid. There are a couple of such requests.

October 3, 1760, page 485: "I desire to be buried in the Graveyard ad-jointh Mr. Elder's Meeting House in the township of Paxtang, as near to the Graves of my former Wife and children as may be convenient, provided I die so near to that Graveyard that it may be prudent for my Executors to carry my Body there." But if this request were complied with, his grave (Moses Dickey) is not marked.

And John Powan, May 16, 1758, p. 332, desires to be interred in the Church yard of St. John's, Pequea, near those of his own family. He bequeathed "£3 to be paid into the hands of the Church Wardens then being in three years after my decease: For to keep the Glass of the windows of the said Church in repair."

The first will in date, quoted here, is May 17, 1756, p. 130. He begins by saying he is "sik, licke, worttly bequeatch neassessery planddation to son John, whereon I live now with all my Bond Notes and cash and all my moveable because that he is my best son, and attents me to my Mind to my end, to my other children one English Shilling each."

August 27, 1760, p. 333. "I give over to my house-woman (is this a translation of haus-frau?) Barbara, all my Estate and Goods therewith to keep house and likewise with all Privileges Like She it finding Good to her Widow Station remaining." And another, April 6, 1761, p. 379, "allows his wife a good Bureau."

Nearly every will contains a provision against the remarriage of the

widow. But here is an exception, June 8, 1757, p. 336: "To Agnes, my beloved Wife one third of my whole Estate both real and personal, for ever, and one Kettle, two iron Potts, a Spinning Wheel, a Feather Bed, two Pewter Basons, two Plates, a Cow, a Hive of Bees and all her Cloaths and Linnen, as also by Bible and one other book called True Christendom."

P. 350. He directs that for his wife's "maintenance she shall have every year 15 bushels Wheat, 5 of Rye, 150 pounds of Pork, 50 pounds of Beefe, a barrel of Syder and Apples enough to eat when they are plenty, 8 pounds Wool, 1 bushel Salt, 10 pounds Flure, 10 pounds Tow, a pair of Shoes, a Bed and an upper Bed, one Great Pillow and two small ones each with one lining, one pair of Linnen Bed Sheets together with a Back (bag ?) of Chaff and a Bed Stead and all her Cloaths shall be her property and nobody shall have any pretensions to them."

P. 355. "To my wife the sum of Money of a good black Suit of Cloath she likes best."

P. 445, December 2, 1769. "I allow that they raise a House of Logs Two and Twenty feet by Eighteen wide with a Stone Chimney, ye Said House is to be built on my Plantation for my Wife to Live in During her Life time if she sees Cause and at her Death to leave it to whom she sees Cause." P. 243. To his wife "her Cloathing."

Page 141, March 28, 1755. To his wife "the Store Room, free use of the Kitchen, 15 bushels Wheat, 4 of Malt to make Beer, 2 barrels Syder, 3 gallons Apple or Rye Liquor, a sufficient quantity of Apples to eat or dry, as much Hackled Hemp or Flax as she can Spinn and as much Firewood as she shall have occasion for, and £200."

These wills are somewhat more liberal to the wife than the majority of them. For in those long past days a woman had few rights. It seems that even her "cloaths" did not belong to her, and every thing was in the man's power. Here is an instance:

P. 224, January 6, 1758. "I leave to my daughter Ann the Cow that was left her as a Legacy by her Grandfather." What would they have said on the subject of female suffrage, a so-called privilege to which the majority of women are indifferent.

Some of these old wills begin in rather unusual language. November 7, 1759, p. 387. "Intending to travel abroad, though in proper health and strength, I am sensible of the uncertainty of my life I therefore by these Presents do leave this as my last Will."

P. 410. "Being weak in Body and near to the grave I have firmly Resolved and there for Called Neighbors to pronounce my last Will and Testament to have it drawn in Writing to Prevent further Quarrels amongst my Heirs."

September 4, 1749, P. 295. "To all Christian People to whom it may come," begins another.

October 27, 1760, p. 303. "Whereas I Jacob Holzinger Considered by my Self to set my Self in Security of the Death, and also the Security when he comes so I considered by myself to make and ordain for my family."

P. 273. George Campbell, Sergeant in Capt. J. Singleton's Company, now in a hospital at Fort Ligonier, directs that he "be buried in a decent Manner after the form of the Country."

The daughters are not forgotten. April 18, 1756, p. 187. "To my daughter Sarah £20 in Money to be paid when she arrives at mature age also she is to be taught to read and nit and sow and fed and Cloathed till she be twelve years of age, and then to be free." P. 230: To another is left "one two year old Héffer on her day of marriage." In contrast with this, p. 232, a daughter is cut off with "one shilling she having behaved herself undutifully." And, p. 360, the testator leaves "to my son Godfried the sum of one shilling sterling for his full portion of my Estate, because of his meisbehaviour again his Father."

And, p. 379, April 6, 1761, William Young leaves money "to allow my wife a good burial."

Here are two curious expressions:

"Estate to be appraised by three indifferent Judgeable men." P. 368, "To be valued by any two judicious indifferent persons," September 16, 1761.

December 9, 1760, p. 375. It is rather interesting to know what our forefathers and foremothers were in those early days. One will says "and knowing that it is appropriate for All Men once to die," she mentions "my light colored Gown and Red Petticoat." Another speaks of the "Men once men and woemen," while a third thus enumerates her wardrobe, p. 436, September 2, 1765; "My sink lutstring Gown and Striped Gown and cardinal Cloke, likewise two peticoates, one red, the other white, and two aprons, my scarlet Cloke and Caleco Raper, my Callico gown, my black quilted peticoate, my striped Linnen gown and my Bible."

The men are equally definite. November 2, 1756, p. 145. This will says: "Wery sick and weak of body, to my friend, one Pare of Blew Seder Bridges a Blew Coat and Unter Jacket Red lidge Collar with Sleeves one Hatt one Pare Shoes by best being for tenting (attending ?) me in my sickness to my End."

September 20, 1754, p. 147. Bequeaths "one Coat and Jaccot of an olive green Colour."

July 23, 1761, p. 372. This man was very gay in his tastes. He leaves to his brother "My blue stuff Coat and my red britches, my Blue Broad Cloth coat and my Beaver Hatt my Brown fir Coat and Jacket."

Another, August 5, 1761, p. 373, mentions "a Velvet Jacket and a Note of Ten pounds in the Pocket." And still another leaves "to my brother my best hat and the scarf that is on it."

March 13, 1758. Provides money "if his wife should be Indosed or want to get Bleeded."

Here is a quaint wording: "I give to the poor, the blind and lame who go about the country for relief the sum of £5." And another, p. 257, says: "to the Poor of the Menist Congregation of which I am a member the Sum of Twenty Pounds to be paid by the Elders of the said Menist Congregation for the time being for the use of the said Poor on the Decease of my Wife, not before."

There are a number of bequests to the different churches in the town and county. It may be interesting to note some of them.

P. 160, April 10, 1757. Philip Jacob Getz leaves "to the Calvinist Church in the Borough of Lancaster £6 to be paid six months after my decease, and

to be applyed toward purchasing of Organs for said Church or paying the debts due for building the said Church as the Minister and Congregation shall agree."

P. 177, February 14, 1757. Jacob Bichler of Leacock leaves "to the Elders of the Reformed Dutch Church one pound after my Disease which now stands on Andrew Seldomridge his Plantation for the Use and Behoof of the said Church only." And Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, than whom there is no higher authority on our Lancaster history, says that this is the church now known as "Zeltenreich's," which name has become Angelicized into Seldomridge.

P. 185, August 10, 1757. In Janet McCosh's will she leaves "in case Derry Congregation shall in time coming make a pulpit for Mr. Roan, twenty shillings to help them to pay for it when it is done," and she leaves Mr. Roan forty shillings.

P. 235. "£ good lawful money of Pennsylvania to and for the use and benefit of the Lutheran Church situate lying and being in Duke Street in the same Borough.

Another, p. 326, August 16, 1760, leaves "£4 lawful money of Penna. to the present Church Wardens of the High Dutch Protestant Lutheran Congregation in the Borough of Lancaster, to be employed by them for the Use and Benefit of ye Church of the said Congregation situate and lying in Duke Street in the said Borough of Lancaster to be paid within a month after my decease."

P. 387, May 4, 1761. Theobald Windeck, a member of the Brethren at Ephrata, leaves the residue of his estate after his funeral expenses are paid, to that Society. The inventory givs thm £79.

P. 441, November 4, 1766. Michael Byerly, leaves "£50 to and for the use of the German Lutheran Trinity Church."

P. 501, November 21, 1767. Jodocus Dobler leaves "To the Westrymen of the Charman Lutheran Church in Lancaster £50, to be employed by them for the use and benefit of said Church."

P. 504. George Fiesel leaves £16 to the same Church, and p. 535, April 16, 1766, Leonard Leahner leaves it £25.

P. 435, October 18, 1764. Rudolph Breinisen leaves "To the Church Wardens of the Lutheran Church built on Georges Verns land the sum of £5, to be laid out by them in the keeping and in repair the said Church."

P. 443, July 4, 1767, Leonard Bowser leaves "£5 to and for the use of the German Reformed Church situate on Orange Street."

P. 483, August 26, 1763. Mary Dougharty gives to "the Congregation of St. James Church the Sum of Five Pounds for the Common use of the Said Congregation, and the same sum to the Friends Hospital in Philadelphia."

P. 360. Leaves "£13 in my son Moses hands for my Funeral Charges. Against next Fall I leave £5 for the support of the Gospell to be put out at Interest and the Interest yeadly to be given to the Stated Minister and it to be continued through Generations, and I Charge the Said Trustees to be faithful in ye Charge committed to them."

P. 428, September 28, 1764. "To the Trustees of the Philadelphia hospetole £100 for the use and benefit of the said hospetole, and to the Trustees of that Gramer School at Newark £100 for the use and benefit of said school to be both paid three years after my land is sold."

P. 464, September 24, 1762. Charles Christopher of Lampeter township leaves "to the poor of our meeting house, Menonish, £20."

P. 546, February 9, 1765. Abraham Le Roy leaves £5 to "the Dutch Prisyterian Church on Orange Street."

P. 549, October 27, 1767. John Mitchell leaves "£10 towards the building of a Prisbetirian Church or Meeting House in Drumore township near the old house known by the name of Chestnut Leavil meeting house provided the same be finished within eight years after my death, and Provided the same be built for the use of the Prisbetirian Church which is or shall be in full union with the united Synods of New York and Philadelphia."

Some of the spelling in these old wills is unique. Widow becomes "widdo," marriage is "marig," the familiar name Baumgardner is "Baumcarner," and son-in-law is "son-in-ye-land," decent becomes "deccent," and one will gives "the Bead and Beadsted whereon I know lie one Spinnen Weel, one Chist, one Tea Cattle, the chise of them, one Iron Pott one frien Pan, 20 bushels Wheet, 50 pounds Beaken or Porcke." Instances like this can be multiplied. Let it be distinctly understood that nothing has been exaggerated. The instances quoted only cover a few years, and, as was said before, they are all to be found in Book B, in the Register's Office. In all probability the wills of a more modern date would offer just as many peculiarities, for after all human nature does not change with the passing years, and men and women are actuated and governed by the same impulses and feelings to-day as they were in those days of old.

In conclusion, among the many old documents which were studied in order to present to you the items contained in this paper, there is one will which perhaps in its quaint wording merits more than a mere abstract. It is found on p. 276, and bears date August 13, 1758, and comes from Warwick township:

"Whereas God came Bastian Reyer and his wife Augnes hath laid us Down by Crossing Sickness so they sought to make and leave Peace behind by their Children, by their life and in this their married people. And we old aged Bodys hope that our beloved Children will be satisfied with these our last Will. For it is one Child to us ike the others, and you shall divide in peace and be satisfied with that we left behind for you and by this our last Will stand and neither but (put ?) anything there of or there to. Then the Lord God will bless you in this and Everlasting Life and by this Writing which we leave before your eyes after our decease keep that and be in peace, and let Father and Mother rest in the Earth and Shleep and being satisfied therewith and we are in confession Sure."

If the hearing of all this has been one-half as interesting to you as it was in the compilation, the writer will feel amply repaid for the time spent over it.

Annual Society Outing.

Report of the Committee.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

Your committee appointed to arrange for and carry out a summer outing of the Society, in the character of a basket picnic, and also to provide a suitable program of exercises commemorative of the life and labors of Judge Emanuel Carpenter, respectfully report that, as indicated by the Society's pleasure, they adopted the date of June 26, 1920, as the time, and Carpenter's Church, and Roop's farm adjoining the same, in Earl Township near Talmage, as the place of holding the exercises and program of the day.

The outing was a half-day event, and a large number of the members of the Society and its friends and of people in the neighborhood, gathered by means of automobiles and by trolley, about one o'clock P.M. The Society first gathered at the grave of Judge Carpenter and the President, Judge Landis, announced the Hymn, Lead Kindly Light, which was sung here by the Society under the direction of Mr. William Trost.

The next part of the program, that of the historical exercises, was held in the Carpenter's Church. The meeting was presided over by the President of the Society Hon. Charles I. Landis, and Adeline B. Spindler acted as Secretary.

The President called the Society to order and the following program was rendered:

A paper by Mr. A. K. Hostetter, on the Carpenter Family, in its relation to Lancaster County and early settlement and migration. The paper is printed in this issue.

After the reading of the paper and comments thereon, there were selections of music by the assemblage assisted by Mr. Wm. H. Trost, cornetist.

The president then announced a paper by David F. Magee, Esq., on The Official and Judicial Work of Emanuel Carpenter, which was read by Mr. Magee. The same is printed in this issue.

This was followed by music, "Star Spangled Banner," sung by the entire assemblage.

The final paper of the occasion was then announced by the president. "The Legislative Record of Emanuel Carpenter" and was written and read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., and it is hereto attached and marked Exhibit "C." Then followed a discussion of the same.

The audience again sang, rendering "My Country 'Tis of Thee" in conclusion of the program proper. A short business meeting followed. The President called for a vote of thanks which was unanimously given expressing gratitude to the authorities and owners of the Church Building for allowing the Society the use of the same, for the meeting, to the writers of the

papers, and to Mr. Landis Evans for a large phonograph and a similar vote was passed thanking all those who took part in making success of the event.

The audience then adjourned to the premises of Mr. Benj. S. Rupp, a few hundred yards away, and the picnickers and their friends indulged in the picnic meal of the event. Improvised seats were quickly set up so that all were comfortably seated. Between 100 and 150 persons were present and a couple hours of festivity and social pleasure were thoroughly enjoyed by all present. During the festivities music was dispensed by Mr. Landis G. Evans on the fine phonograph contributed by him for the occasion.

A great deal of enthusiasm for the subject of local history was aroused by the event. Several persons expressed a willingness to contribute a paper on local historical subjects for the Society during the coming year. The wide branchings of the Carpenter family, brought out descendants and collaterals of Emanuel Carpenter by the scores, and from all sections of the country.

At the conclusion of the festival thanks were again unanimously extended to Mr. Benj. S. Rupp and his family for the generous privileges granted us in the use of his fine premises for the occasion.

All of which is respectfully submitted by the committee.

ADALINE B. SPINDLER,
H. FRANK ESHLEMAN,
D. F. MAGEE, *Chairman*,
A. K. HOSTETTER,
L. B. HERR,

Committee.

EXHIBIT "A."

The Ancestors of the Zimmerman-Carpenter Families of Lancaster County.

BY ALBERT K. HOSTETTER.

No incident connected with the settlement of the grand old Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has aroused greater interest in the mind of the historian than the immigration of the German masses from the Fatherland to Penn's Province in the new world.

On account of the continued persecutions of the Pietists in Germany, the attention of such leaders as Kelpius, Köster, Falckner and others was seriously turned to Pennsylvania with the result that an expedition including them was sent to America who settled on the Wissahickon in 1694. In 1698 Daniel Falkner returned to Germany with very glowing reports of his visit to America. It was then that another expedition took place from the fatherland to this newly acquired home. Among this group we find the name of Heinrich Zimmerman, Jr., who was born September 7, 1673, of Swiss parentage, a native of the Canton of Berne in the district of Seftigen, the country thereabouts being known as the Zimmerwald (or in other words, the forest of Carpenters) from which this family is said to have acquired its name.

Heinrich is reputed to have been a very unruly boy who gave his parents and teachers a great deal of trouble. He was known as "Der Schwartz Heinrich" (Black Henry). After leaving school he entered the military service for several years, after which he took up the study of medicine, and later, became a practicing physician. About this time he heard of William Penn's newly discovered country in America and decided on emigration to this country, where he understood that money could be made easily, and where religious persecutions were unknown. His first place of settlement was at Germantown where he found a number of his native countrymen. In order to satisfy himself more fully as to the choice of a home, he made various exploring trips along the Chesapeake bay and up the Susquehanna to Harrisburg, however, he could not even then decide upon a permanent location for his home. In 1700 he returned to the home of his boyhood days, where he wooed and won the affections of Salome Rufener, a sweetheart of former years, which resulted in their marriage the following year. She was the widowed daughter of the Count de Fontenoy.

In 1706, with his wife, he returned to America, and established himself in the practice of medicine in Germantown, where he prospered and acquired considerable property, his financial standing and family increasing. Besides Emanuel and Gabriel, who were born in Switzerland, the following named additional children were born to them in America, viz.: Salome, Christian,

Henry, Daniel, Mary and Jacob. In 1710 he acquired his first land in Lancaster county, being a tract of about 200 acres near Lampeter Square, and in 1712 his possessions aggregated about 3000 acres along the Pequea. Although he continued his practice at Germantown for several years more, at the same time he bought Redemptioners and proceeded to develop his newly acquired acreage, as rapidly as possible until a few years later when he moved his family to his Pequea settlement. Educational facilities were not then as far advanced in America as they were in Germany, consequently he sent his children to the Fatherland where Pastorius had established a college, and there they were taught in the German and English languages, which, in those days, was a very great accomplishment and which advantage proved, later, to be of great benefit to them. Heinrich being the most extensive land owner of the district, and having developed a large practice, became a very prominent figure in the community.

Another prominent settler along the Pequea at that time and a rival of Heinrich's, who was also a native of Switzerland was Hans Graff.

About 1726 when Heinrich's boys were nearing manhood, he concluded to buy more land.

The land eastward to Philadelphia had nearly all been taken up, but that lying north and westward had not been surveyed. Squatters were busy locating in these directions, and Heinrich decided to have a share of it also.

He went about 10 miles up the Conestoga where a small stream flows into that creek, where he found a beautiful valley, abounding with numerous springs. Here he began driving stakes, and making his reservations. It happened that Hans Graff was similarly engaged, in this vicinity and a question arose between them as to priority.

The little brook forked about a mile above its mouth into two equal parts. It was agreed that Heinrich should have all the land on the right hand fork, looking up stream, and Hans that on the left, and ever since one branch has been known as "Carpenter's Run" and the other as "Graff's Run." The forks are about one mile from the village now known as Talmage. By referring to Deed Book A, Volume 6, page 290, in the records of Philadelphia, we find reference to a "Ground rent" on this property, from which records we quote the following: "Paying, therefore, yearly, to the Proprietary, their heirs, assigns and successors at the town of Lancaster on or about March 1st every year from the date thereof, 1 silver shilling on each 100 Acres." In Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 7, page 152, we are told that the officers in charge of the Land Office had been requested by the Proprietaries to anglify the German names as much as possible in giving out patents. Accordingly, when Zimmerman applied for his patent and gave his name, the official in charge said, "That would be Carpenter in English," and the patent was thereupon issued in the latter name, and from that time on, many of the descendants have adopted the English name, while others have adhered to the original.

Emanuel and Gabriel had both now grown to manhood and had married girls from the Pequea settlement. Emanuel married Caroline Line and had built himself a log cabin near the mouth of Carpenter's Run where it empties into the Conestoga.

Emanuel and his wife were blessed with 5 children: (1) Catharine, (2) Barbara, (3) Elizabeth, (4) Jacob and (5) Emanuel.

1. Catharine Carpenter was born in 1736, was married to Jacob Yiser and after his death to Adam Reigert, who was the proprietor of two of Lancaster's most famous hostleries known as the "Black Bear" and "The Grape." It was in the former that Washington was entertained by our citizens in 1777.

Mr. Reigert later became Lieut. Colonel of the 1st Battalion of the Lancaster County militia, after which he became a member of the Legislature. He had a son who also served as a member of that Body, and subsequently became Sheriff of our county.

Their descendants have figured quite prominently in the history of our county, one of whom was Emanuel Carpenter Reigert, the grand-father of Edward P. Brinton, Esq., a prominent attorney at our bar..

2. Barbara Carpenter was born in 1738 and was married to Jacob Ferree a descendant of one of the pioneer French Huguenot families which figured so prominently in the early settlement of our county. Barbara's children numbered three, Emanuel Ferree, Susanna, wife of James Boyd, Elizabeth, wife of John Gibbony.

Barbara died, after which Jacob married a second time, without issue. The descendants of the Gibbony family became prominent citizens of Bedford and adjoining counties.

3. Elizabeth Carpenter was born in 1740 and was married to Dr. George Michael Graff, a grandson of Hans Graff. They had two children, George and Eva Graff. George was captain of the 4th Company, 1st Battalion of what was known as "The Flying Camp" in the Revolution.

4. Jacob Carpenter was born 1741, was married to Maria Forney and after her death to Anna Maria Yundt.

He was a soldier in the Revolution. His children were Jacob Emanuel, Catharine, wife of Michael Van Kennar and Susanna, wife of Peter Ellmaker, from whom are descended the present day Ellmakers of our city.

5. Emanuel Carpenter, Jr., was born 1744, married Mary Smith, was a member of Captain Rowland's company of the 10th Battalion in 1775 and later became captain of the 7th company of same, after which he was appointed Judge of Common Pleas Court until 1798, when he emigrated to Ohio, where he again became Judge of the Court and was otherwise prominent. His descendants, which were quite numerous, also figured prominently in the various walks of life in that locality.

Gabriel, the second son of Heinrich, was born in 1704. He also became an extensive land owner in Earl township, was the owner of a mill and did considerable surveying. He, too, became prominent, but never took any interest in county or political affairs as did his brother, Emanuel. He built a house at the forks of Carpenter's and Graff's run. His children were (1) Salome, born 1727, who married George Line, (2) Christian, born 1729, who married Susan Herr. In 1824 one of the descendants of this family built Carpenter Church, at which we are today assembled. (3) Daniel was born 1732, was married to Mary Herr, a sister of Christian's wife, both having been granddaughters of the pioneer Hans Herr. (4) Mary Carpenter, born

1733. (5) John Carpenter, born 1735, married Elizabeth Scherer. They had 3 sons, John, David and William, who married 3 daughters of Emanuel Carpenter, Jr. (6) Sarah Carpenter, born 1741, married Jno. Graybill. (7) Elizabeth Carpenter, born 1743, married Geo. Eckert. (8) Catharine Carpenter, born 1745, married Peter Eckert, who had 9 children, one of whom married John Wilson, who was the ancestor of Hon. J. P. McCaskey, of Lancaster. (9) Jacob Carpenter, born 1748, married Anna Maria Youndt and had a large family. After his death she married another Jacob Carpenter, a son of Emanuel.

Christian Carpenter, the third son of Heinrich, was born 1707, but appears to have left no record of any matrimonial venture. Although he became a land owner we know nothing more of his history.

Dr. Henry Carpenter, Heinrich's fourth son, was born 1714. He had 7 children.

1. Dr. John married his cousin, Mary Ferree, and lived in luxury at "Carpenter Hall," at Paradise, Lancaster County, where he developed an extensive botanical garden, which had been founded by his father, in which were many fine specimens of rare foreign plants which, here, for the first time were grown in this country. They had two children, Abraham and Mary. Dr. John's wife having died, he married Susan Hartman, from which marriage they had 2 daughters, Susan and Salome.

2. Dr. Henry Carpenter, Jr., married Catharine Carpenter, granddaughter of Gabriel and had a family of 8 children.

3. Barbara Carpenter married John Dehoff.

4. Susan Carpenter married Christopher Reigert, proprietor of the Fountain Inn hotel of Lancaster, where sessions of Court were held from 1781 to 1785. He was a brother to the above named Adam Reigert. After his death she married Col. Thomas Edwards, of Revolutionary fame, who at one time held the office of Sheriff of our county.

5. Mary Carpenter married John Smith.

6. Abraham Carpenter married Esther Hafer.

7. Salome Carpenter married John Offner.

8. Daniel Carpenter married Magdalena Forney, a sister of Henry's wife. He was known as the big man of the family, measuring 6 ft. 6 in. in height.

Abraham married Salome Smith and had two children, John and Susannah. John became a practicing physician. He built the handsome residence near Paradise, known as "Oak Hill," now owned and occupied by Chief Justice J. Hay Brown.

John married Massey Gibbons. Their daughter was the wife of Dr. Thomas H. Burrows, who figured prominently in the history of our county as the "Father of our Pennsylvania Free School System," also as the original editor of that well-known publication, "The Pennsylvania School Journal" and the author of numerous other educational works. He was a lawyer by profession, a member of the Legislature, and became a noted factor in political and educational life.

Susannah married William C. Frazer, of Delaware. They moved to Lancaster in 1813, where he was admitted to the Lancaster County Bar. They afterwards moved West and he was appointed Chief Justice of Wisconsin by

President Andrew Johnson. They had a son, Reah Frazer, who married Abiann Steele. They were the parents of Commodore Reah Frazer, pay director in the U. S. Navy for 43 years, and Miss Susan C. Frazer, of Lancaster, who has honored us with her presence at our celebration today.

Abraham's sister, Mary, married John Smith. They were the ancestors of the wife of Hon. Thomas E. Franklin, who served as Attorney General of Pennsylvania for two terms, also of H. M. North, Jr., of Columbia, who is President of the First Columbia National Bank and one of the leading attorneys of the Lancaster County Bar.

The youngest member of Heinrich's family, Jacob, was married to Elizabeth Herr, who lived only a few years, after which he married Susan Miller, who died about five years later, after which he married Magdalena Kendrick who survived him. Heinrich's children now all married and comfortably situated, he divided all of his property, about \$100,000, in 1747, and died soon thereafter.

His remains were buried in the graveyard on the old homestead, near Lampeter.

From the organization of our County in 1729, all through the eighteenth century the county records indicate that the Carpenter family was very prominent in public affairs, drawing deeds, wills, and other legal documents, settling estates of Decedents, etc.

Emanuel, the eldest of Heinrich's family, was the most prominent of that generation. He was nicknamed "Manny the law-giver." Immediately upon being naturalized, he was appointed constable and assessor for his township. From then on until he died in 1780 he was constantly in office, having in the meantime served as a member of the Provincial Assembly for sixteen years and from 1759 to 1780 as President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was by nature, an enthusiastic advocate of Liberty, and availed himself of every opportunity to further that cause, was ever watchful for the interests of his fellow-man, and enjoyed a very great influence in his community. He was an arbiter in all matters of dispute among his clients, and his decisions were always considered final, and never appealed from. Such was his standing in the community.

A great deal could be here said about his political and official career but since that will be enlarged upon in two other historical papers to be presented at this meeting, I will not go into details regarding these particulars.

Judge Emanuel Carpenter's mortal remains repose in the graveyard adjoining this (Carpenter's) church and his grave is marked by a tombstone which was erected by his grandson, Emanuel Carpenter Reigert, in 1827. The inscription on the stone reads as follows, to wit:—

"Here, entombed, lie the remains of Emanuel Carpenter, Esq., late presiding Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County. If true piety, benevolence and Christian Charity and unsullied reputation, and an entire devotion to the rights of man, at the most gloomy period of our National struggle, are commendable, the example of the deceased is worthy of imitation. He closed his useful and well spent life on April 1, 1780. And also of his wife, Catharine Carpenter, who died in February, 1785, in the eighty fourth year of her life. Filial affection and respect for ancestral worth induced the erection by their grandson, A. D. 1827."

The time allotted me for this paper will not permit me, on this occasion, to follow up the families of the descendants of these people any further, and when you stop to realize how large were the families I have reviewed, you can readily understand that there is enough history embodied in the subject to permit the writing of a much longer paper at some future time.

In so doing a great many distinguished people can be cited, and right here in this cemetery, a great many records can be procured, which would be very helpful, in such an effort.

EXHIBIT "B."

Emanuel Carpenter, the Law Giver.

BY D. F. MAGEE, ESQ.

In the wise direction of human events as ruled by Divine Providence during the career of this country as a nation, whenever there came a need and a call for men for special service, that same over-ruling power has ever found a man, ready equipped to fulfill the duties of the service required; this truth applies to every stage of our history, and was never more forcefully illustrated than in the life story of the subject of this day's theme—Emanuel Carpenter; "Judge" familiarly and affectionately called "Manny, the law giver."

It does not belong to my part of the story to tell of the rugged ancestry from which he sprang, Heinrich and Salome Zimmerman, and how from the blood of this worthy ancestry he inherited and absorbed all of that rugged daring, strong will and unbending devotion to liberty, fair play and justice to mankind which throbbed through his veins and impelled his every action.

Suffice for me to say here that as far as we can discover, considering the rugged battling ancestry, wonderfully developed by a comparatively good education to which Heinrich wisely devoted most of his childhood at the school in Germantown, afterwards drilled and trained in the hard school of work and experience in lines that naturally lead to the leadership of men, under Heinrich's vigilant direction, we shall find a very large part of those activities which paced him in the position of eminence in the public life of the community, which he attained.

Of course, we readily understand that the legal talent and learning which is required of the Judge at this day to decide law points and principles, and give opinions that will stand the test of appellate courts, was not required nor possessed by even the presiding Judge of that day. Yet as we look over the many books of record, see the accurate form of writs, judgments, sentences, and decisions "as the Court hath them recorded," we can by no means call them acts of an untrained man or lacking in learning or forms of law.

At that day the common law of England was the law of this and, and it is an axiom that common sense and a strong sense of justice are the main elements required to interpret and apply that law.

Be that as it may we find that Judge Emanuel Carpenter as a Judge or Justice was a preeminent success, honored, trusted by the high officials who handled the offices of this county under the authority of the King of England and the proprietors and their officials at Philadelphia. Loved and respected by the people of this county and relied upon by the leaders of the people within the county and state, who found him both a just Judge and a staunch supporter of law and order, when he held a commission from the Georges of

England. Nevertheless, while holding that commission he was foremost among those who were contending against the oppressions and wrongs committed in the name of the Crown, and bent his every energy toward preparing his people for the battle for freedom and liberty of his country, which no doubt his wise vision clearly foresaw would come.

Thus we find, while presiding as a Judge he became on July 9, 1774, a member of the committee from this county to protest against treatment of the people of Boston and the closing of that Port by England after the tea episode; and we find him soon thereafter named as one of the active members and leaders on the Committee of Safety of Lancaster County.

In the same manner we find him holding Court as President Judge, issuing writs and entering judgments under the caption and by the authority of George III, Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., at the August session of 1777, and at the very next session of his court held on the first Monday of November of the same year, 1777, we find all captions, forms, writs, etc., have dropped the name and all mention of the King, the Crown and Sovereign, and issue only in the name "Pennsylvania."

See Docket of Court Quarter Sessions Lancaster County No. 3, August and November terms, 1777.

During his long service as Justice of the Peace and Judge from 1735 to 1780, he lived and made his home in Earl Township, on his farm deeded to him by his father, Heinrich, which the said Heinrich had patented from the Penns about 1726. This farm is at and along Carpenter's Run, where the said Run enters Conestoga Creek.

He and his brother, Gabriel, built their houses on adjoining tracts, about 1729 or 1730, when he was married. Their first houses were but log cabins. His brother Gabriel's farm was further up, Carpenter's Run, where Carpenter's Run and Groff's Run come together, near a large spring.

Emmanuel's farm originally contained 342 acres, but the homestead and site of the original log cabin and the stone house that succeeded it is now a farm of but 69 acres and 80 perches. The property lies to the southwest of Earlville or Talmage and is entered by a lane running westward from the center of this village. It is owned by Simon K. Zook, who lives on it with his wife and daughter and son-in-law. A complete chain of title for the same is recorded at Lancaster and briefly is as follows:

Patented by Heinrich Carpenter, 1733-A-6-239.

Deeded to Emmanuel Carpenter, Book E, page 239.

Willed to Emmanuel II, Sept. 5, 1779, Will Book D-1-80.

Sold to David Good April 24, 1800-H-3-371.

David Good's Estate, March 17, 1810, Book 21-278.

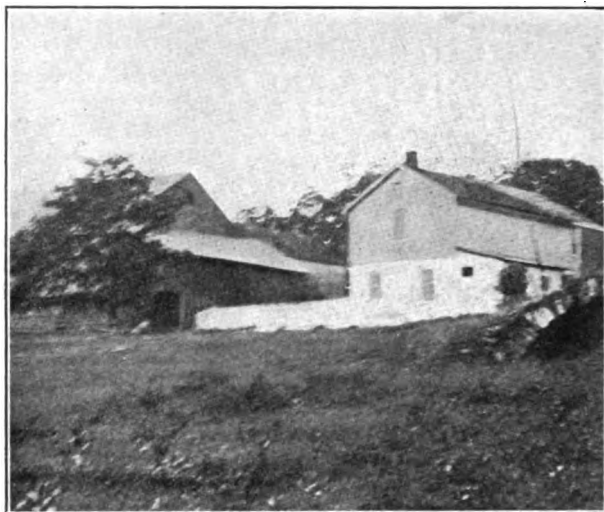
Deeded to Jacob S. Shirk and Cyrus Sheaffer, April 2, 1851 Q-7-375.

Deeded to John Heller, March 22, 1853, Book C-8-244.

Deeded to Simon D. Zook, April 2, 1860, Book H-8-264.

Simon D. Zook's heirs to Simon K. Zook, April 29, 1886, Book Q-12-71.

A very old stone house with a later-built frame end is standing occupied yet and is the last house occupied by the Judge and in it he died; but just North of this house are signs of another small stone house, the arch cellar of which still remains, and it is probably that this was the site of the Judge's first home after the log cabin was abandoned; but sure it is that here was his



This picture represents the house in which Judge Emanuel Carpenter lived on his farm the last forty-two years of his life and died in, in 1780: giving both front and rear view. The house as shown is about one third larger here than when Carpenter lived in it, the old portion being the right end. It has a wonderful old arched top cellar under this end. There is also shown in front of the rear view the remains of an old arched top cellar which is probably the cellar of his original house or log cabin, built in 1730 by him, and later used as a school house, the first in that section.

The farm is now owned by Simon K. Zook, is due west of the village of Earlville, and is reached by a lane running from said village.

home during his long life and service as Justice of the Peace, Judge and Representative in the Legislature.

The second house which Gabriel built to replace his log cabin is still standing on his homestead farm, which is entered by a long lane off of the Mechanicsburg State Road near the present residence of Benjamin E. Rupp. It is close to a magnificent big spring and close to the Forks of Carpenter's and Groff's Run, which are referred to in the first deed to this property. Two or more additions have been built to it of stone, but the portion built more than 165 years ago still remains as the center of the house, and this portion is of log originally, covered with weatherboard.

This property remained in the Carpenter family for about 160 years, the last Carpenter owning it being Miss Mary Carpenter, of Lancaster, a great-great-granddaughter of Gabriel Carpenter. It is now owned by Isaac Zimmerman, who occupies it with his family. The third very old house and site about which there is some controversy is the house now owned and occupied by Ezra Zook, located west of and adjoining the present graveyard, at Carpenter's Church, to which the buildings are quite close. Col. Carpenter, the historian of the family, states that this house was built by old Heinrich, the settler who moved there and died in this house. In that we think he is mistaken.

The house itself, as it now stands, is very large, built in an excellent manner of stone neatly pointed and in both the type and manner of construction bears evidence from top to bottom of its antiquity.

The walls of the cellar are exceedingly thick and strong, supporting the floors of the house by a number of stone partitions and heavy foundations. Within a very few years, in fact only last year, there remained an immense fireplace some twelve feet across, built into the center partition of first floor; and all wood parts are of fine workmanship. But all of these things go to show that the house was entirely too big, fine and expensive to have been built by old Heinrich in his last years when his family was all gone out from his roof, and he was nearing the grave. The writer believes that it was built about in 1769 by old Heinrich's son, Henry, who like himself was a doctor, was a comparatively rich man then and had a family of beautiful daughters, according to the story. There is in one corner of it a small room with door opening out to the porch said to have been a doctor's office.

In the Recorder's office we find a complete chain of titles to it, starting with the big patent deed in old Hienrich, then to his son Henry when it was a tract of 121 acres, then from Henry II to his son Henry the third, who was likewise a doctor by will in 1772 and the graveyard was sold off of it before that date.

It then passed through John Graybill, 1835, Lewis Diller 1846, Abram Lefevre 1847, John K. Horst 1873, Christia Frankhouser, Rudy Frankhouser his son, George F. Bard and Bards estate, to Ezra B. Zook in 1915, Book D, 22-555. Since 1846 it has had but 59 acres 80 perches in it.

The very earliest official appointment of which we find record was given to Emmanuel Carpenter at the first Court held for Lancaster County at Postlethwaite May 10, 1729, with Justice John Wright presiding, when the name of Emmanuel Carpenter was among the 12 Constables appointed by the Court, he being named for Cocalico Township.

No. 1 Record Book of Quarter Sessions Court of Lancaster County, page 4.

In 1735 we find of record his first appointment and commission of Justice of the peace in Lancaster County, and it is interesting to read in detail the first official act performed by him, of which we find record, when he performed a marriage ceremony, uniting in wedlock his own sister, Mary Carpenter, to Daniel Fierie (Ferree), Jr., which marriage certified in full was as follows, together with the names of the witnesses appended thereto:

"WHEREAS Daniel Fierie of the County of Lancaster and Province of Pennsylvania, yeoman, and Mary Carpenter, daughter of Henry Carpenter of the County and province aforesaid, spinster, having made due publication of their intention of marriage as the law directs; These are therefore certified, all to whom it may concern, that on the first day of May, A.D., 1739, before me, Emmanuel Carpenter, one of his majesties Justice of the Peace, of the said county, they, the said Daniel Fierie and Mary Carpenter, appeared in a public and solemn assembly, for the purpose appointed and met together at the dwelling house of the aforesaid Henry Carpenter, when he the said Daniel Fierie did openly declare that he took the said Mary Carpenter to be his wife, promising to be unto her a loving and faithful husband till death should separate them; and the said Mary Carpenter, then and there in the assembly did in like manner openly declare that she took the said Daniel Fierie to be her husband, promising to be unto him a loving, faithful and obedient wife till death should separate them, and for a further confirmation thereof both the said parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands, she after the custom of marriage assuming the surname of her husband, and whose names are hereunto subscribed being witnesses present at the solemnization thereof the year and day first above written.

(Signed)

"Daniel Carpenter,
Daniel Fierie,
Mary Fierie,
Henry Fierie,
Henry Harris,
Elizabeth Kemp,
Paulos Peter Affel,
Henry Carpenter,
Salome Carpenter,
Lawrence Hayne,
Daniel Lefever,
Heinrich Zimmerman,
William Buffington,
Daniel Zimmerman,
Hans Hause,
Gabriel Zimmerman,
Jacob Carpenter,
Theopolis Hartman,
Christian Zimmerman,
Hans Hartman,
Isaac Fierie,
Peter Fierie,

Joanna Conrad Kaempf
Isaac Lefever
Daniel Harman
Joannes Volkecummer
George Philip Dollinger
Christian Herman
Maris Herman
Abram Fierie
Philip Lefever
Hester Lefever
Samuel Lefever
Susan Zimmerman
Jacob Fierie
Solomon Harman
Leah Fierie
Rachel Fierie
Isaac Fierie
Mary Hans
Jonas Le Rone Fierie."¹

¹ History of Carpenter family by Seymour D. Carpenter.

In October, 1730, Emmanuel Carpenter was elected as one of the assessors for the county, the assessors at that time being Joshua Lower, of Hempfield, Emmanuel Carpenter, of Cocalico, Walter Denny, John Caldwell, Gabriel Davis, of Earl, and Thomas Wilkinson, of Donegal.

There are a number of commissions on record in the Recorder's office at Lancaster issued to Emmanuel Carpenter, but his earliest commission as a Magistrate or Justice is not there recorded. Those recorded are as follows:

January 2, 1761, Record F-233, Supersedeas as Judge by George III.

January 12, 1761, Record F-239, Re-appointment by George III as Judge.

October 18, 1762, Record G-407, Appointment as Magistrate.

April 14, 1764, Record L-258, Appointment as Magistrate.

Sept. 18, 1770, Record O-296, Special Commission to a Court for the Trial of Negroes only.

March 31, 1777, Record Q-505, First Commission from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as presiding Judge.

His commission as President Judge of the Courts of Lancaster County were issued to him by George II, King of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., and was dated November 1, 1759, and recorded March 2, 1760, in Deed Book D-536, and reads as follows:

"S. S. Pennsylvania. To wit: George II by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, defender of the faith, etc. to all these present shall come: GREETING: Know ye that we have constituted and chosen our faithful Emmanuel Carpenter, gentleman, presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Lancaster, to hold the same for so long a time as he shall well behave himself therein.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have caused the great seal of our said province to be hereunto affixed.

Witness: William Denny, Esq. by virtue of a commission from Thomas Penn, Esq., true and absolute proprietors of the province of Pennsylvania, etc."

However, there seems to be an anomaly in the date and date of recording, as we shall see hereafter, for we find in the Book 3 of the Record of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Lancaster County these facts:

The first Court at which he presided was the February Quarter Sessions held in the Court House at Lancaster on February 7, 1758, and the following minute is made in the docket of said Court on that date:

"The Court being opened a new commission of the peace was presented and read and then the Court adjourned until Wednesday, the 8th, at 10 A.M."

And when Court opened on said Wednesday, February 8, 1758, Judge Carpenter is noted as presiding.

The prior Judge who had presided at the last Session of the Court, being November 2, of 1757, was Thomas Edwards, Esq. Docket 1 of the Court of Quarter Sessions, page —.

This may have been brought about by the official delays as well as the slow methods of communication, between the heads of Government in the province and the heads of the Royal Governments across the seas.

When Court opened on February 8, 1758, Sheriff Joseph Pugh, Esq., returned the venire with the panel thereto annexed, and the following persons

were sworn or affirmed as the grand inquest, this being the first to sit under Judge Emmanuel Carpenter, to wit:

Isaac Whiteside, Foreman,	John Neal,
Casper Shaffner,	John MacBride,
Thomas Thornberger,	Abraham De Huff,
Phillip Lanhear,	Conrad Young,
George Reynolds,	Frederick Stone,
John Hart,	George Swope,
Nicholas Job,	Lodwick Byerly,
Henry Mason,	George Stricker.

The first case tried was the King versus Peter Myers. He pleaded guilty to an assault, was adjudged to pay a fine of 6 pence to the Governor and costs, and stand committed till it was complied with. The first Jury Trial was a felony. Larceny. The following were called as jurymen: Chas. Vance. John Evans, John Force, James Evans, Francis Morgan, Abraham Nelson, George Bruah, George Diffenderfer, John Evans, Theopolis Hartman, John Evans (three John Evans).

He was found guilty and was sentenced to receive 12 lashes at the public whipping post on Friday, next, between the hours of 9 and 12, pay a fine of 8 pounds, make restitution of goods, pay costs and stand committed until the sentence was complied with.

There were eight cases heard, but only one jury trial; balance were submitted to the Judge of the Court, no attorneys apparently being employed. The Judge usually imposed a fine of from 6 pence to 15 shillings.

There were 13 persons who had been summoned to jury duty and failed to attend. Each was fined 10 shillings. Several petitions for public roads were presented and on return of a petition favorably reported. Three Tavern Licenses were recommended and two licenses to sell beer and cider.

May Sessions were much shorter. August Sessions about the same as February and the November Sessions about the same as May in the amount of business done.

Dockets 1, 2, 3 and 4, in Quarter Sessions office, show that he was continuously president Judge from February 7, 1758, to November Sessions of 1779, which was the last Court at which he sat or presided, or just about twenty-two years. At the February Sessions of 1780 Justice Michael Hubley presided and as Emmanuel Carpenter died in 1780 he presumably held his position until the date of his death, when he was seventy-eight years of age, and had continuously held County Offices, beginning as an assessor and constable, supervisor, poor director, justice of the peace and President Judge, and delegate or representative in the State Legislature for fifty-one years.

On January 2, 1761, Deed Book F-233, his commission as President Judge, as well as that of all his six associates were superseded and annulled by King George III, who had just ascended the throne of England. And on January 13, 1761, or two weeks thereafter, new commissions were issued to Judge Carpenter as President, and to most of the others as associates, so that evidently this was done in order that all should hold their commissions from the then reigning King of England.

It is worthy of note that on September 18, 1770, a special commission

as Judge was issued to him and Isaac Saunders, one of the Associate Judges, constituting a special court to try all cases relating to or effecting negroes, both slaves and free, showing how sharply the color line was drawn at that date. Record Book O, page 296.

Under date of March 31, 1777, Record Q, page 505, Judge Carpenter had a commission issued to him to supersede his prior commission from George III. This commission read:

"Under and by authority of the Freeman of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, The Supreme Executive Council of said Commonwealth, etc., etc., issue their commission Emmanuel Carpenter and Associates, etc. Also you or any three of you as Justices of Assizes, Justice of Oyer & Terminor and Jaol Delivery to try at certain times and Sessions misdemeanors, felonies, etc., etc., and also as Justices of Court of Common Pleas to hold to bail, etc.

"Given under the great seal of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
(Signed) "THOMAS WHARTON, *President*, F. P. MATLACK, *Secretary*."

This was the commission in effect at the time of his death.

These early dockets in both the Quarter Sessions Court and in the Prothonotary's office show that during the greater part of Judge Carpenter's term as President Judge, there were but six or seven lawyers apparently of record, to do all the business that required the attention of the lawyer in both Courts, although in very many cases apparently there were no lawyers engaged. These attorneys though few in number were men of note and ability. In number of cases engaged George Ross easily lead all the rest in all Courts and in Common Pleas he apparently represented as many clients as all the others together. Yeates, Atlee, Shippen, Porter and Morris were the other attorneys whose names appear, with only an occasional name of an unknown attorney, among which there occasionally appeared the Attorney General or an attorney representing the State of Pennsylvania.

During all of this period the number of cases docketed ran very high, considering the population of the County, but in most cases they were of small importance and were quickly disposed of in both Quarter Sessions Courts and the Courts of Common Pleas. The cases docketed in the Common Pleas Court averaged about 1200 a year, but 9/10 of them were simply brought for the collection of debts and in results amounted to little more than confessions of judgment, as they were not disputed, and no defenses were offered. In those days the law allowed imprisonment for debt and in many cases it was imposed.

In Criminal Courts about 9/10 of the cases were assault and battery and were heard by the Judge without a jury and usually without an attorney. Felonies which were few in number, being principally larcenies with an occasional case of arson and murder, required juries. The penalty for larceny was usually whipping on the bare back with from 10 to 25 lashes, and women were often whipped.

A very large part of the business of the Court was taken up with work in appointing road viewers and passing upon their reports. These were naturally great in number in that formative period of a new country, and some of the roads laid out during Carpenter's term were highways of great importance and remain so today.

The granting of tavern licenses was another big item of business and they ran into the hundreds in a year. They were not all granted at one Session. The big Sessions for this business seemed to be in August. Judge Carpenter missed but very few sessions of the court, his name almost invariably appearing as present and presiding. He was President Judge for twenty-three years.

Judge Emanuel Carpenter died in April, 1780, leaving a Will under date of September 5, 1779, proven May 8, 1780, and recorded in Will Book D-1, page 8.

At his death he held in one tract of land at the mouth of Carpenter's Run on the east side of the Conestoga four hundred and forty-five acres of land and allowances: and this he had divided into two farms on one of which he lived with his wife, Catherine, in and at the site of his first home together with his son Emanuel II, and his family, but each family living in separate houses, the judge and his wife occupying the smaller and older house. The other farm and portion of his original tract was farther down the Conestoga was built upon and occupied by his other son Jacob Carpenter and his family. He gave to Jacob this farm on which he, Jacob, was living, containing 221 acres, subject to the payment of £600 to his daughter, Catherine Reigert, wife of Adam Reigart, with interest during her lifetime to his widow, Catherine. payment of principal to be made when his widow died.

To his son Emanuel II he gave the homestead of 221 acres subject to the payment of £600 to his daughter, Elizabeth Graf, wife of John Graf, with interest during her life to his widow Catherine during her life. Also reserving from this farm the right to his widow to live in the house in which they then resided, with right to bread, butter, milk, meat and garden for her and her maid during her life.

From his personal estate he bequeathed to his granddaughter, Elizabeth Gibbanee, wife of John Gibbanee, the sum of £800, to Adam Reigart his son-in-law the sum of £50, and all the rest, residue and remainder to his wife Catherine to do with as she wished. He appointed his wife and son-in-law, Adam Reigart, executors.

With this I shall close this paper, which it was only intended should cover the magisterial, judicial and various official activities of this early pioneer and active patriot who so early in our country's history took his place among the leaders of men and the builders of our government and uplift of our County from a wilderness of savages and too often the home of lawless men. We may well feel proud and the people of this community should especially take pride in the fact that this particular community where many of the direct descendants of those early pioneers still remain has furnished to their country one who spent his long life in their midst at his home and yet succeeded in earning the love, esteem and full confidence of the leaders of the nation in the days that he lived in their midst.

EXHIBIT "C."

The Legislative Career of Emanuel Carpenter.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.

While Harris in his biographical history, states that Emanuel Carpenter began his services in the Assembly in 1755 the records (Vol. 4, "Votes of Assembly," 625, which "Votes" we shall simply designate herein by the capital letter "V" in our citation of references) show that he first appeared in 1756. He had a long and useful career in that body as an Assemblyman representing Lancaster County. Some of his prominent associates in 1756 were Isaac Norris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jos. Galloway, Benj. Franklin, Jos. Gibbons, George Ashbridge and others. He served continually till the beginning of 1772, his last Assembly being that convened October 14, 1771. His career therefore extended over sixteen years. The scope of his activities was so varied and he took part in so many legislative acts and services during his incumbency that a satisfactory estimate of his public service can only be ascertained by classifying it under its proper heads.

We may, therefore, discuss this career under his labors in behalf of: (1) The Revenues, Finances and Fiscal Affairs of Pennsylvania, (2) The People's Rights and Privileges, (3) The General Provincial Affairs, and the Drafting of Laws, and (4) Our Common American Liberties.

I. THE REVENUES, FINANCES AND FISCAL AFFAIRS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

When we turn to Carpenter's part in this domain of his services, we find that he took a prominent part in several distinct departments of the fiscal affairs of our Province:—(a) The Raising of Taxes, (b) Appropriation of Moneys for the King's (Public) Uses, (c) Revenue Tariff and Protection of Trade, (d) Issuing of Money and Building Up Finances.

(a) *Raising of Taxes.*—In 1756 he was appointed on a committee to procure the tax duplicates of all the counties of Pennsylvania, and to apportion, to each county, its share of the general tax, according to population and wealth (4V,670). In this duty, he encountered a fight with the Philadelphia members over a proper distribution of the burdens of taxation.

This subject, of apportionment of taxes among the counties was continually before the Assembly. The first comprehensive report on the subject was made in 1760 by Carpenter and others who had it in charge (5 V, 118, 121, etc.). His report sets forth the acres of land in each county, the number of taxables, the rate and amount of tax assessed. The report is interesting. Lancaster County stands first in area (436,346 acres), first in taxables ex-

cept Philadelphia Co. (having 5,635 against Philadelphia's 5,684) and highest in tax levied except Philadelphia County (6198 pounds against the latter's 6540 pounds). Lancaster County's rate was 1 pound 2 shillings, per hundred, Chester's, the same; Philadelphia County 1 pound 3 shillings; Philadelphia City 2 pounds and 5 shillings. The City of Philadelphia had 2634 taxables.

Page 121, of the same volume, appears Carpenter's committee's audit of the finances of the Province and of the expenditures of the last 100,000 pounds appropriation, except the 2000 pounds still in hand, to build the Barracks in Lancaster.

In January, 1764 (5V, 301), Carpenter and others were appointed on a committee to investigate and report a complete plan for equitable taxation in Pennsylvania; and in order to do so, to divide the real and personal estate of the Province into as many classes as necessary, and to fix rates of taxation and values on each of the said classes. In order to secure data to perfect this scheme of taxation the Assembly resolved that printed lists of all ratable property be left at every man's dwelling with blanks to be filled in and signed by them; and every person not giving a just and full account shall be subject to a penalty four fold the amount of all property he conceals. Here we recognize the original of the present method of ascertaining money and other subjects, taxable for state purposes. We are required to fill up and affirm to, similar lists today, for the assessors.

Carpenter and his committee divided property into 23 classes; among them marsh meadows, cultivated land, uncultivated lands, houses and lots, improved grass lots, near cities, ground rents, quit rents, forge and furnace lands, grist, oil and saw mills, trades, professions and occupations (upon the profits thereof), annual salaries, ferries, horses, cattle, sheep, bought white servants, negro or mulatto slaves, single men, and several other classes.

This was a natural result, arising from the great laxity of taxation in early times, when outlying districts often escaped taxation entirely. Philadelphia complained very greatly against her excessive rate of taxation to make up for those who escaped. This searching scheme was designed to end the escape from taxation and to equalize, properly, the tax burdens of Pennsylvania. It is interesting to notice an "income tax" among the heads above mentioned.

(b) *Appropriation of Money For Public Uses.*—In this domain of his activities we find Emanuel Carpenter also playing an important part in Pennsylvania's Government.

In 1756 he was on a Committee with Benjamin Franklin and others to raise 100,000 pounds for the King's use. A large part of these moneys "for the King's use" was consumed for the protection of the Province and for our own development as a "King's Province." So long as we raised it ourselves, we had no objections to spending large sums of it to pay for the expenses of English troops sent here to help us in the French and Indian Wars, etc. But we rebelled when later, England determined that she could impose taxes on us, even for the purpose of our own protection. In 1758 Carpenter was again a ranking member to amend the King's Supply bill. In 1759 and in 1760 and in 1764, he was on similar committees to raise sums of 100,000 pounds for our public protection (5V, 55-107 and 343).

(c) *Revenue Tariffs and Protection to Trade.*—In 1758 we find Carpenter on an interesting and important committee (4V, 793). His committee were instructed to frame a law imposing a duty on tonnage, and an impost on wine, rum, sugar, and an excise on tea, for the purpose of the support of the province and the protection of trade. This was done and in it we find Pennsylvania's first step in legislation against other nations and against other colonies for her own welfare. All the Colonies did the same; and this was laid down generally, as the policy, by each Colony, of collecting part of the expense of its Government, from other Colonies. The Supreme Court of the United States under the Constitution, had a hard task on hand to break up this system, after the Constitution of our country forbade states, any longer, living and governing themselves at the expense of sister states. We are here clearly informed that the "protective tariff" for the "protection of trade" is very old and that it did not begin with us, in the nineteenth century, as may be supposed.

(d) *Money and Finances.*—Emanuel Carpenter appeared constantly on committees and in individual capacities to organize and develop Pennsylvania's currency and credit system. In 1750 (5V, 55) he was appointed with Galloway, Masters, Watson, Ashbridge and others, to draw an act for emitting bills of credit, or paper money for the Province. In 1760 he was on a committee to settle the treasurer's account (Do., 118), and the same year was on a committee to audit the Provincial Commissioners' disbursements of the 100,000 pounds last raised for the King's use (Do., 121). In 1761, to him and others, was committed the whole subject of the taxes due to and the revenues claimed by, the Penn family, growing out of their ownership of land, etc., which was fast becoming a sore grievance to the people (Do., 145 and 156). At the last page mentioned appears his report, that Penn's family were not receiving, in fact, all the taxes they are entitled to.

In 1767 (5V, 557) Carpenter, Pennock and others were on a committee to provide a means to recover moneys outstanding and due to the Province on mortgages taken by the Trustees of the loan office. The Province, early, issued paper money for its needs, by taking mortgages from persons who desired to borrow, providing that the borrower pay back interest and one twelfth of the principal each year till paid off; and it issued to mortgagors, certain paper money or certificates which passed as money, the same as our silver certificates, etc., do, at this day. But borrowers, after making the loans, were very slow in repaying the same.

The foregoing sufficiently shows the scope of Emanuel Carpenter's services in the Revenue, Financial and Fiscal Affairs of our Province.

II. THE PEOPLES' RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

Emanuel Carpenter seems to have been especially fitted for the task of planning the proper division of the powers of Government—of securing the people in their just rights under their Government—of preventing rulers from misusing their power, and generally, for the task of administering the activities of government.

His labors in this department, evidence themselves in at least three di-

rections: (a) Executive and Legislative Division of Power, (b) Equality of Representation in Assembly, (c) Fundamental Rights of the People.

(a) *Executive and Legislative Division of Power.*—The main episode in Carpenter's legislative career which called upon him, as a constructive statesman in Constitutional matters, was the William Moore affair. Moore was a justice of the peace and a Judge of the Courts of Chester County. In 1755 he drew a petition signed by 35 people urging the Assembly to provide a militia to protect the people from Indian outrages, or to resign their seats (7 Col. Rc., 765). The Assembly were enraged at this "affront" as they were the "majesty of the people in representative capacity;" and they had petitions presented to their own body, charging Moore with extortion, embezzlement, and instigating groundless suits and litigation for the purpose of fees; and, in 1757, summoned him to appear before the then Assembly and meet affidavits of his accusers. He appeared and denied their jurisdiction (Do., 741-767). They also determined that the petition drawn by Moore and signed by him with the other signers entitled "The Humble Petition and address of Wm. Moore et al. of Chester County" was a scandalous and libellous attack on the Assembly, accusing them of neglect of duty, etc. In January, 1758 (4V, 768), they appointed Carpenter and others a committee to draw up the resolves of the house on the subject. Carpenter's committee reported: That to make any address reflecting on the proceedings of the Assembly or on any member relating to his service is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the representatives of the people—that the "Humble Address," etc., is false and scandalous, virulent and seditious and a libel on the last Assembly charging them with partiality, corruption, oppression and persecution and it tends to create discontent between the two branches of government and animosities, riots and disorders among the people—that to assert directly or indirectly—that an assembly of the province, has no right or power to hear petitions, examine and redress grievances and complaints of the people against public offices or in any other case, tends to encourage wicked men in oppressing and distressing the community and the rights of the representatives of the people; and is subversive of the fundamental powers of the Constitution. (This they asserted because Moore denied their jurisdiction to try him on extortion and misbehavior in office and insisted that the Governor who commissioned him had the right to revoke his commission and that the Courts had the right to try him for alleged embezzlement; but that the Assembly had no power to try him. The Assembly contended that they had the right to impeach him.)

Carpenter's committee therefore resolved that, Moore confessing he wrote the "Humble Address" and libel and delivered it to David Hall the printer to publish, he is guilty, and that he be delivered to Philadelphia Jail and remain till he retracts—that the libellous address be burned by the common hang man. The Assembly approved and adopted the report and called Moore before them. He refused to retract and the Assembly made out a warrant to commit him and ordered that the Keeper of the jail do not obey any writ of habeas corpus.

The Assembly then tried him in his absence, on affidavits of his accusers and published the proceedings in the Pennsylvania Gazette and sent an ad-

to publish, he is guilty, and that he be delivered to Philadelphia Jail and refore the Assembly jailed him, Moore complained to the Governor and called the Assembly fools. The Governor called his Council together and sent word to Moore to appear with his witnesses and be tried. Some members of Assembly appeared and protested that the Governor had no jurisdiction except on the Assembly's impeachment and that the members of his Council had no part in the proceeding at all. He ignored the Assembly; and then the Assembly, to prevent the Governor trying Moore, passed the resolve above mentioned and jailed Moore. Moore sent a message to the Governor from Jail (7 C. R., 776-7). The Governor protested to the Assembly (Do., 779). The Assembly replied that the Governor and Council had no power to try Moore and that he must remain in Jail (Do., 779-80). They accused the Governor of setting up a new form of judicature in Pennsylvania and declared that the Governor cannot act except on their impeachment, similar to the method of Parliament, etc. (Do., 782). The Governor denied this (8 C. R., 1). The Assembly retorted (Do. 4) and the Governor countered (8 Do., 11). The Governor and his Council then tried Moore and found him not guilty (8 Do., 161).

The Assembly held that as the Charter or Constitution gave them the right to choose a speaker, pass laws and "*redress grievances*" that they had exclusive power to redress the grievances of those who accused Moore and also had power to protect their own dignity against his contempt. The Governor said he is the "King's representative" and they are the "*people's representatives*" and they are both parts of the legislature; that Moore was one of his Majesty's—the King's—justices appointed by him, the Governor, as King's representative and that he alone had jurisdiction over him. The Assembly appointed Carpenter, Wright, Galloway, Gibbons, Ashbridge et al. a committee to answer the Governor (5V, 773). They reported they are surprised the Governor does not know why they accused him of setting up a new judicature—that the Governor intended to give Moore a chance of making his defense for a high misdemeanor against Assembly—that if Assembly had not imprisoned him the Governor would have succeeded—that when a person in a judicial capacity breaks over the law he may "rove in the field of oppression" and can never be stopped,—that they demand the Governor remove Moore—that they have undoubted right to impeach—that the power to redress grievances in the Commons (and in Assembly) is one of the most essentials checks in the Constitution—that "a sheriff may be corrupted, a jury packed, a court who hold their commission during pleasure may be influenced; but it is unnatural to presume that the representative body of the people should be partial, corrupt or do injustice."

Moore was finally released on habeas corpus, and the acquittal before the Governor was the end of the matter and the Assembly was defeated.

The temper of the Assembly is further shown by its trial of Wm. Smith for publishing Moore's petition or libel. Ross appeared before Assembly and defended, contending:—

1. The House has no authority to take up any person for libelling a former Assembly.
2. That the paper is no libel.
3. That Smith is not an abettor of the libel, if it be one.

The Assembly said Smith could be heard only on the last matter; that they were the sole judges of the first two points and their authority and decision could not be questioned. They then sent Smith and his counsel outside, and proceeded to try Smith and then sent for them and said Smith is guilty, until he makes "Amends" (Do., 778). He refused; and (Do., 781) he was held guilty. Ross asked for the privilege of appeal to the King. The Assembly said no appeal lay; but if Smith yields he may go. Smith said he did nothing he was sorry for and striking his hand on his breast said no punishment they could inflict would be so terrible to him as to allow his tongue to give his heart the lie.

Many people present applauded, hissed, clapped their hands and stamped their feet and a score or more of them were at once arrested by the Assembly (Do., 781). Smith was sent to jail and from there asked the Assembly to certify their action so he may appeal to the Crown (Do., 784). The Assembly decided this was a further insult and ignored it. On April 25, 1758, both Moore and Smith were released on habeas corpus. The matter was closed. In all the steps of these proceedings, Emanuel Carpenter took part.

(b) *Equal Representation For the Back Counties.*—In 1764 Carpenter was appointed on a committee to investigate the complaints of the "back counties" that they were not equally represented in Assembly. These petitions came from Lancaster, York and Northampton Counties and in part grew out of the Conestoga Indian Murder. They were presented May 24, 1764. The complaint was that as these counties did not have the number of Assemblymen their population entitled them to, their county delegations could not overcome the Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester County members who were Quakers and were opposed to proper protection against Indian outrages. The want of such protective laws and militia caused the back inhabitants to protect themselves and the outrageous Conestoga Indian Murder was the climax. Paxton Township and Smith and Gibson (Paxton Boys) filed similar petitions. Carpenter, Franklin and others were appointed to take up the matter, and to consider all petitions. The Committee reported (5V, 359) on September 20, 1764, that the people of said Counties are not properly represented and also that it is a hardship to compel them to attend trial before the Supreme Court at Philadelphia and that those judges ought to go on circuit. It is to be noted here that while Chester County had 8 Assemblymen, Lancaster with a greater population still had only four. York also fared badly.

(c) *Bill Of Right—Trial in Proper County.*—Owing to the great fear in Lancaster County of the Paxton Boys, and the sympathies locally for the unprotected state of the inhabitants in the neighboring region of Paxton, there could scarcely be any Conviction or even trial of those who killed the Indians here. In fact, there never was any trial. It was now proposed in Assembly to provide that they be tried in Philadelphia.

In February, 1764 (5V, 319), the Assembly appointed Carpenter, Galloway, Franklin and others on a Committee to report on the further intentions of the Paxton boys. This committee promised a thorough investigation; but it never did much.

Carpenter was appointed about the same time on a committee to create a proper militia to protect the people.

Carpenter's committee reported that to provide for trial in Philadelphia for a crime already committed in Lancaster County would be both an *ex post facto* law and a law providing for an unconstitutional place of trial, where the animosity against Smith and Gibson and other Paxton boys would be worse than the sympathy for them in Lancaster County.

III. GENERAL PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.

Emanuel Carpenter's connection with the general provincial affairs of Pennsylvania also covered several departments or lines: (a) The Judiciary, (b) Care of the Poor, (c) Indian Trade, (d) Liquor Trade, (e) Slave Trade, (f) Internal Trade and Navigation, (g) Protecting and Policing the Public, (h) Securing Governor's Approval of Laws, (i) Committee to Report Assemblages of House, (j) Draughtsman of Laws.

(a) *The Judiciary*.—Carpenter was on the Committee, with Franklin, Allen and others, in 1763, to prepare a law to regulate the Courts (5V, 238). On a committee in 1767 to provide a law to require the Justices of the Supreme Court to ride on circuits throughout the Province to bring justice to every man's door (5V, 506). This proposed act was opposed by the Governor who wanted it to be temporary only (Do., 521).

Carpenter's committee replied that this act should be a permanent law as all statutes should be, where the administration of justice is concerned, "Justice is the natural right of every man and in our mother Country, is confirmed to the subject on principles the most permanent and durable; and indeed the Government must be extremely defective where it is either temporary, precarious or dependant on the will and pleasure of either branch of the legislature, and should it happen that this Province (as has happened more than once) should be governed by a president of Council who is not vested with the power of legislation, and this law should expire, the people must suffer the mischiefs they now experience without a possible remedy." This message Carpenter and Blackburn were asked to take to the Governor and to convince him of the necessity of approving the new law as a permanent law (Do., 521).

In 1770 Carpenter was again appointed on a committee to amend the procedure of the Supreme Court, the general Quarter Sessions and Jail Delivery Courts. Franklin was with him on the Committee (6V, 215).

(b) *Care of the Poor*.—Emanuel Carpenter devoted much thought and attention toward systematic care of the poor. He was Overseer of the Poor in his own county several times.

In the Assembly he was appointed on a Committee in 1763 to reduce all the Acts for care of the Poor to a code (5V, 238), and in 1765 he was appointed on a committee to examine the laws for Care of the Poor and to suggest additions and improvements in the system (Do., 385). In 1768 he was appointed on a committee to investigate the Complaint of Southwark concerning Care of the Poor of that district (6V, 48). Finally in 1769 he was appointed on the committee of visitors of the House of Employment of Philadelphia (Do., 130). He made a report on the conditions there which resulted in destroying some of the abuses which had crept into the system (Do., 131-300).

(c) *Indian Trade*.—Briefly Carpenter's labors to regulate and protect trade with the Indians consisted of his part in drawing the first comprehensive law to regulate Indian affairs in 1758; his assistance in committee, in drawing a law to prevent the frontier men of Berks County, encroaching on Indian lands in 1760 and especially to prevent hunting deer there (5V, 110); his appointment to investigate and report on the Indian murders in 1768 on Middle Creek (6V, 110); and his labors in the convention held by several colonies in joint session, for the purpose of establishing a uniform system on Indian matters and Indian trade generally throughout America in 1770 (6V, 226).

(d) *The Liquor Trade*.—The only attention which Carpenter gave to the early liquor trade was what he did pursuant to his Appointment in 1762 on a committee to examine the liquor licenses, the number granted in the Province and the distance between liquor selling places in the Province (5V, 194). The committee of which he was a member was a large one and consisted of one or more members from each county. The "state of circumstances of the keepers of public houses" and a full state of the condition of the business and its obedience to law—were to be inquired into.

(e) *The Slave Trade*.—In 1761 it became necessary to pass laws, more carefully to restrict and suppress the slave trade in the Province. Emanuel Carpenter and others were appointed on a committee to report a bill to prevent and repress importing negro slaves into Pennsylvania. The committee made report (Do., 151) but the only result of their action was a law putting a heavy tax on importation of slaves.

(b) *Internal Trade and Navigation*.—An important subject came up in 1763. Wood had become very scarce and costly and there was none within a distance of 12 miles of Lancaster to be had and hauling added very heavy cost to the same. The largest forest tracts were in the upper Conestoga Valley. The people demanded that the navigation be opened on Conestoga and Pequea up to the hills toward their sources so that wood could be floated, boated and rafted down to the Borough of Lancaster. A petition was presented by Lancaster people setting forth that the Conestoga Creek runs through the county and if it were not for the dams of Michael Garber, Sebastian Graff, and Hans Christy, it would be navigable to Susquehanna, a distance of 30 miles with a width at medium of 250 feet and that there were no flats or shoals in that distance; that dams and fish baskets destroy its value; that cord wood in Lancaster because of long carriage is 10 shillings for oak and 15 shillings for hickory and price is increasing as land is cleared and if it were not for the dams, the proprietors of large wood lands 14 or 15 miles northeast of Lancaster could deliver wood by water on a good landing only a mile from the Center of the town; that before the dams were built great lots of fresh fish, shad, rock and salmon were produced; that there are 10 good grist mills within 5 miles of the borough, without those above mentioned. The petition prayed for removal of the dams.

Then a petition was presented against the removal.

It was ordered that such of the Lancaster members as reside nearest the creek and dams inquire into the circumstances and report at next sitting and that the parties for and against same be present at that time.

Carpenter was the most active man in the settlement of this delicate matter.

(g) *Protecting and Policing the Public.*—In 1764 the matter of protection of the Citizens of the Province became serious because of the agitation over the Indian massacres which finally brought on the Paxton outrage. Carpenter was appointed on a committee to draw a militia law and one was accordingly drawn (5V, 313). He was also placed on a committee with Franklin and others to secure for the back counties, Lancaster, York, etc., their proper representation in Assembly and for the people's greater ease in attending Supreme Court (5V, 359.) Then, too, he was appointed to investigate the Paxton outrage, but not much came of it.

(h) *Securing Governor's Approval of Laws.*—In 1756 Carpenter was given charge of the Acadian Bill after the House passed it, in order to get the Governor's approval of the same. Many of those unhappy Nova Scotians, as we know, came to Lancaster County. In 1759 he was given a similar task as to several new bills passed. In 1769 the Supreme Court bill as we have seen was entrusted to him to steer it past the Governor's objections.

(i) *Informing Governor, Assembly Was Ready to Receive Him.*—The Assembly each year delegated a small committee of its most honored members, upon their assembling, to the Governor to inform him of their organization and choice of speaker, and invite him to deliver his message. Emanuel Carpenter was complimented and honored by the Assembly with being on this committee in the years 1760, '62, '64, '65, '66, '68, '69 and '71.

(j) *On Committee to Draw Laws.*—Emanuel Carpenter had a hand and an active part in drawing the following laws:—Act to secure Pennsylvania's share of the Parliament fund in 1759; Act restricting encroaching on Indian Lands beyond Berks Co., in 1760; Act against slavery 1761; Act to Regulate the Judiciary in 1763; Act for Relief of the Poor in 1763; Act of a Comprehensive System of Property Assessment and Taxation in 1764; Act Establishing the Militia in 1764; Act Establishing the Law and Decedent's Estates in 1765; Supreme Circuit Law 1767; Act for Relief of Insolvent Debts 1767; Act Regulating the Loan Office 1767; Act for Preserving Estates of Lunatics in 1768; and several others.

IV. SECURING OUR AMERICAN LIBERTIES.

Some of the most valuable of Emanuel Carpenter's work, was what he did in behalf of American Liberties—our rights as a coming association of free and self governing provinces, and eventually as a free and self-governing nation.

The lines of his activities in this direction include (a) Stand Against Illegal Quartering of Soldiers, (b) Labors on the Committee of Grievances, (c) Redress From English Oppression, and (d) Petition on Proposed Change of Pennsylvania's Form of Government.

(a) *On Illegal Quartering of Troops.*—On December 16, 1756, Carpenter, Franklin, Ashbridge and one or two others were appointed a committee to prepare a draft of a message of Assembly to the Governor concerning a rumor that the Governor had given orders that English Troops might be quartered among the private citizens of Pennsylvania contrary to Act of Parliament,

also adopted here that soldiers must be quartered only at public houses. This committee reported that it is against the law to quarter troops at private houses, and that the Governor should compel all public house keepers to accept the troops so that private householders may be eased. The Governor replied and said his message of December 8 is his answer.

Carpenter and others were then appointed a committee to answer the Governor and did so reminding the Governor that he made demand on the people September 22, 1756, for quarters, and that the Assembly proposed to build barracks for the purpose, but the time is too short; that a letter had come from England demanding quarters and the committee remind the Governor that he was not explicit in his proclamation about quarters, but that he said the public houses were not sufficient for the purpose; that the demand was to house 600 soldiers in Philadelphia and that the Governor said it could not be done. Carpenter then reminds him that there are 117 licensed public houses in Philadelphia and that they are sufficient. The Governor replied that the Mayor and Aldermen of Philadelphia remonstrated and said the tavern keepers are too poor to keep and feed soldiers over the winter and wait for pay till spring as the Assembly is very slow in providing money to pay; also that many of the soldiers need hospital attention and bedding and fire for the sick. Franklin and others were appointed a sub-committee to wait on the Governor.

We remember that under another head we showed that Carpenter was on a committee to make a survey of all the licensed taverns in Pennsylvania and of the condition of them and location, etc. This was a means by which he was able to fence with the Governor on the ability to accommodate soldiers.

It may be here remarked that we see here one of the grievances mentioned in the Declaration of Independence—quartering soldiers on us against our consent.

The evil continued; and in 1759 the seat of the trouble was shifted to Lancaster. As Philadelphia was so inhospitable other localities had to be looked to. November 6, 1759, there was filed a protest from Lancaster, as follows: "The petition from the Burgess, Assistant, etc., of the Corporation of Borough of Lancaster was presented and read setting forth that the residents within that borough from the beginning of the late western expedition have been greatly oppressed by the extraordinary number of soldiers quartered upon their public houses as well when marching through the boro as when in winter quarters, praying the house in their next grant of supplies to the Crown they will be pleased to appropriate a part to the useful purpose of erecting barracks in said Boro whereby the inhabitants may be relieved from the burden complained of, in the future.

The house took the matter of barracks into consideration and also the matter of the great number of troops illegally quartered on the public houses therein, and indeed Carpenter, Wright, Leech, Allen and others to be a committee to examine the law as to quartering of soldiers here, also the hire of carriages and the regulations of provincial forces and to report.

The same day Carpenter's committee report:—

(1) The Act for regulating officers and soldiers raised by the Governor will soon expire.

(2) Also the Act for hiring of carriages.

(3) Also that the Act to render the quartering of soldiers less burdensome has expired.

This is signed by Carpenter and the others.

November 8, another petition from Lancaster was presented setting forth the great expense the citizens were under and the great abuse they suffer by numbers of soldiers being taken from the taverns where they were billeted by the Burgess, and being forcibly quartered on them in their private dwellings; and they pray erection of barracks (5V, 26).

Carpenter and the other members of the committee of grievances ordered Jos. Pugh, Bernard Hubley, Burgess, Wm. Jevon, magistrate of Lancaster County before them for questions (Do., p. 31).

Carpenter's grievance committee on April 16 (5V, 41), reported to the Assembly that pursuant to order and upon new appeals from the inhabitants of Lancaster to be relieved from burden of illegal quartering of soldiers, they have examined the matter and are of opinion that oppression is of so extraordinary nature as calls for immediate redress and they beg leave to submit the affidavits taken in the investigation, which affidavits were made by Jos. Pugh, Bernard Hubley, Wm. Jevon, David Stout and John Tuck.

The Assembly ordered Galloway and others to bring in a bill for relief.

The Assembly were so impressed by this report that they drew up a strong address to the Governor (5V, 44) on the abuse Lancaster was subjected to in this improper quartering of soldiers on her people.

This address which contains an unusual compliment to Lancaster is as follows: "In manifest violation of the sections of the Act of Parliament which have been extended here by an Act of Assembly and of other wholesome laws and of the civil authorities of the Government, the military officers have, by force, quartered a large number of soldiers on the private houses of Lancaster Boro committing great outrages on the people by siezing and depriving them of their possessions and property, assaulting their persons (magistrates not excepted) in a violent manner and by obliging them to pay sums of money for their quarters or to receive the troops into their private families not with standing the magistrates offered to provide convenient houses for the accommodation of the rest of the troops—which were not billeted in the public houses.

"That this has been done in an unequal manner to the great terror of the inhabitants, those whom the officers have thought proper to distress had a double portion, though by no means able to bear the burden as others who are exempt; that the inhabitants still continue under this grievous load and oppression;

"That there has not been the least cause or necessity to justify these arbitrary measures, a commodious set of barracks being erected near the city of Philadelphia capable of receiving all the troops of his Majesty in the province;

"That building them at that place was occasioned by the officers refusing to quarter them any where but in or near said City, though formerly warmly solicited to send a proportion of the troops to Lancaster, particularly, and to the several other towns of this province; otherwise a part of the barracks would have been built in that boro.

"That a number of the rooms of the barracks are now and have been during the winter empty and ready to receive all the soldiers thus oppressively, unnecessarily and illegally quartered in that place and that

"We are obliged to remonstrate that the loyal and affectionate zeal of the inhabitants of the boro and county of Lancaster shown for the service of the Crown in giving their utmost aid and assistance towards carrying on the western expedition which has been happily crowned with success ought in our opinion at least have exempted them from such treatment (forcibly burdening them with coldiers).

"That the said boro and county have voluntarily furnished more than one half the wagons required for supplying the King's troops with provisions for which the deputy quartermaster general declared they merited the thanks of this House.

"That without this large supply of carriages the western expedition must have failed and many ill consequences attended the military operations in these parts.

"After such proof of the loyalty & zeal of these people for the services of the crown we cannot but apprehend the oppression & severe treatment of that boro will greatly discourage them, if not render them incapable of doing the same service to his majesty for the future."

"These grievances are so great and have been so long continued that we entreat your honor to consider not only the ill effect to the inhabitants but to his Majesty's service which a continuance of them must occasion, and that you would exert your utmost endeavors to obtain that relief which is due the people intrusted to your care and protection."

Isaac Sanders and Wm. Webb, two of Lancaster County's members, were delegated to deliver this message to the Governor.

April 21 (5V, 51) the Assembly continued considering these grievances of Lancaster tavern keepers and citizens and asked Carpenter, Webb and Sanders to be a committee to prepare a draft or plan for a barracks sufficient to accommodate 500 men and report the expense, to be built in said borough of Lancaster, for shelter of his Majesty's troops and to relief of the inhabitants, etc.

May 30 (5V, 54) Lancaster inhabitants filed another petition, complaining that their mistreatment as to quartering of soldiers came partly from Robert Thompson a J. P. of Lancaster County advising and encouraging the officers and soldiers of the Highland Regiment commanded by Col. Montgomery, to quarter soldiers in private families.

The Assembly gave the plans for the Lancaster Barracks to the Province Commissioners to communicate to the Governor.

June 2 (5V, 56) Webb reported that the Commissioners laid the plan of the barracks before the Governor and he approved same. The House ordered that Webb get title to the lot in his own name for use of the public. This then is the Genesis of the Lancaster Barracks.

Something of the position of Lancaster County in those days is shown in 5 Votes, 69, where it is said that "Lancaster County is the chief dependence of the government for wagons," etc.

(b) *Labors On Committee of Grievances.*—The Committee of Grievances

was the most important committee of our early Assemblies. In imitation of the Committee on Grievances, of Parliament it received all manner of public and private complaint, all manner of request for new laws and improvements needed or supposed to be needed to keep up with the growth of the Province and all manner of contentions between the different branches of the government and on the part of the citizens toward the government, concerning the powers of the different departments and concerning all manner of fancied oppression by those in office, etc.

Carpenter was frequently on this committee and all kinds of knotty problems were put up to him for solution.

In his first year in Assembly, 1756, and some time afterwards he was intimately associated with Franklin on this committee. In 1759 the question of quartering of soldiers came before the committee as we have seen. In 1764 after he had not been on the Committee of Grievances a couple of years he was again added to it because of the trouble growing out of the Conestoga Indian Murder. He was again on the committee in 1765.

(c) *Labors For Redress From British Oppression.*—Here Carpenter reached the climax of his patriotic labors for Pennsylvania and for America.

We have already seen that in 1759 Carpenter lent his powers to correcting the evils of quartering soldiers on private families contrary to law.

In 1764 he assisted in drawing up instructions to Richard Jackson, who was Pennsylvania's agent in England, requiring him to protest to the English government our opposition to Sugar duties and to stamp taxes, etc. At the session of 1764 Franklin was chosen speaker. A committee consisting of Carpenter, Fox, Rhoads, Ross and others were appointed to instruct Jackson our agent in England that in conjunction with agents of other colonies he urge repeal of the Sugar Act and that he remonstrate against stamp duties and against any other tax or imposition to be laid by Great Britain on the Colonies, as being repugnant to our rights as freemen and British subjects (5V, 359).

Carpenter's committee drew up the following eloquent instructions to be sent to Jackson, which were adopted by the Assembly and sent to our said agent (see 5V, 363):

"The representatives of the Freemen of Prov of Pa. having received information of the Resolves of the House of Com. inflicting stamp duties and other proposed taxes to be laid on the British Colonies do humbly conceive that the measure proposed as afore said if carried into execution will have a tendency to deprive the good people of this Province of their most essential rights as British Subjects and of the rights granted to them by the Royal Charter of King Chas. II, and confirmed by laws of the Prov which have received Royal Aprobation.

"That by said Charter among other rights the right of assessing their own taxes and of being free from any impositions but those that are made by their own representatives are fully granted to the people of this Province. And besides we apprehend that this is the indubitable right of all the colonists as Englishmen.

"That said charter and laws, are certainly of the same validity, with respect to the rights therein granted to the people here, as the laws & statutes

of England with regard to the privileges derived under them to the people of England—and that it appears to us as great injustice to divest the people of this province of the privileges held under the former, as to disfranchise the people of England of those rights they claim under Magna Charta itself or any other laws of Great Britain.

“That the colonists here have paid a valuable consideration to the Crown for the said Charter and Laws by planting and improving a wilderness far distant from their mother country at a vast expense and the risk of many lives from the savage inhabitants whereby they have greatly increased the trade & commerce of the nation and added a large tract of improved country to the Crown without any aid from or expense to Great Britain in said settlement.”

(They then proceed to demand that the Crown and Ministry request the Commons to prevent Parliament from “imposing any taxes laid by the Parliament” in as much as they (the colonists) either are nor can be represented under the present circumstances in that legislature, the parliament, nor can the Parliament at the great distance they are from the colonists be properly informed so as to enable them to lay such taxes and impositions, with justice & equity, the circumstances of the colonies being all different one from the other.

“But,” they say, “as it may be contended that the colonies should assist in the *general defense* and it may be expected some remedy should be proposed on the part of the colonies—we inform members of Parliament that we will find a plan *without destroying or infringing the natural and legal rights of the colonies or affecting those of the mother country; and such plan has long been under way.*”

This indeed ranks high as a state paper. It takes the ground of argument that was so frequently taken in later years, by these United Colonies against Great Britain. In October the same year Carpenter, Ross and others were again appointed on committee to draw up additional instructions to Benj. Franklin now assistant agent in England, respecting the state of trade, the pernicious effect of restrictions imposed by the mother Country and the dangers to our rights as Englishmen arising from taxation proposed to be laid on the Colonies. The committee accordingly brought in additional instructions. They were long and numerous relating to England's limiting our trade and imposing taxes on us.

Carpenter was a strong supporter of Franklin as may be seen in his vote to elect Franklin additional agent for Pennsylvania in England. See 5V, October 25 and 26, 1764. Carpenter was not on the committee to remonstrate against the famous Stamp Act; nor on the Committee who drew the address of thanks to England upon its repeal. It is worth noting in passing that Philadelphia County and City and Bucks County generally voted against Franklin, while Lancaster, Chester, York, etc., stood by him and voted with him.

In 1768 (6V, 65) Carpenter, Wright and others were appointed a committee to draw a remonstrance to be adopted by Assembly and to be presented to England, protesting against the proposed duties on glass, paper and other articles of commerce.

This remonstrance consisted of a petition to the King, one to the Lords and one to the people of Great Britain. They are exalted in tone and convincing in argument. The addresses to the King, the Lords and Commons and the People of Great Britain, sent to them by Continental Congress a few years later are so similar to these addresses drawn up by Carpenter's committee in Pennsylvania Assembly in 1768 that, one runs no great risk in asserting that those documents were, in part, copied from these.

In 1770 Carpenter was on a committee to secure for the wagoners of the French and Indian Wars, their just compensation, so long overdue (6V, 236).

(d) *Position On Proposed Change in Form of Pennsylvania's Government.*—In 1764 a movement some time growing, came to a crisis in this Province—that of getting rid of the Penn proprietaryship and having the government directly under the Crown of England—making Pennsylvania a Crown Colony. Much dissatisfaction had arisen against the Penns as an aristocratic and useless head of the Province now grown strong and as a source of payment of proprietary taxes to support a land monopoly and as a breeding source of Quakerism, which prevented this province from arming for its proper protection.

A petition signed by 1500 people against the Proprietor was presented to Assembly (5V, 343) complaining of the obstruction which had arisen between the Governor and Assembly and that the mischief was due to the proprietary government, only two of which then existed—that the people have no respect for them—that the proprietors appoint judges to try their own cases—and they the petitioners ask the King to take the government into his own hands. Lancaster, Bucks and several other Counties presented similar petitions. Carpenter was not on the committee to consider the petitions. The Assembly decided to send them on to our agent in London and did so.

Then the Stamp Act and other burdens began to be laid on the Colonies by England; and the Assembly took into serious consideration the question of whether it were not better to keep the Penns and the safe guards in their Charters, etc., as influential barriers against England's improper treatment.

The next Assembly therefore began reconsidering the proposed change of government and voted, first, on the question, Shall the petition for change of government in hands of the agent, be recalled? Vote yes 10 and No 22. Carpenter and Webb voted "No" and Sanders, "Yes." It was lost.

Then they voted, Shall the agent hold the instructions till further orders? Then the previous question was called for, viz.: whether the question shall be put at this time. Vote "yes" 12 and "no," 20. Carpenter and Webb voted no. So the question was not put.

Then a question was moved, Shall the committee of Correspondence write to the agent that this House desires the application for change of government be proceeded in, with great caution and securing for the inhabitants all those privileges civil and religious which by the Charter they have a right to enjoy and that if he sees danger in losing these privileges in a change or any part of them, they positively enjoin him to suspend presenting the petitions till further orders?"

Carried affirmative 20; negative 12. Carpenter and Webb voted "Yes." Sanders "No." There were 3 of Lancaster County's members.

It is interesting to know that petitions having 2000 or more names of early Pennsylvania inhabitants are somewhere in the Archives of London.

This will suffice to show that Emanuel Carpenter always had a watchful eye for our common American liberties.

His legislative career ended in 1772. But his patriotic labors continued till his death in 1780. He was on the committee in 1774 to further the American cause in the Revolution (Rupp, 379); and at the great patriotic meeting at Lancaster—the same year when protective action was taken (Rupp, 395). He was very loyal to the Colonies cause at all times. He was a great soul and was ever active for the general welfare of America.

We cannot, of course, assert that he was the actual author of the resolutions, petitions, state papers, etc., presented by the Committees on which he was a member; but he did his part of the work. That he was a very efficient and valuable public servant is shown in the following resolutions and minute of thanks and of the estimate in which he was held by the inhabitants of this County and of the then Boro of Lancaster, after the conclusion of his career in Assembly, in the fall of 1772. It is as follows:—

To Eman'l Carpenter one of the late Representatives in Assembly for County of Lancaster:

Sir—The burgesses, assistants, etc., of Boro of Lancaster met this day at the request of a number of representative inhabitants of the boro and being sensible of your services as one of the representatives for the County of Lancaster in General Assembly of Province these 17 years past have directed that the thanks of the corporation be offered to you with the assurance of their approbation of your steady and uniform conduct in that station. And as you have declined longer serving your country in that capacity I am charged to mention that it is the earnest wish of the inhabitants of Lancaster that you may be continued in the commission of the peace and a judge in our county where you have so long presided and deservedly acquired and supported the character of an upright and impartial magistrate, etc.

By order of the Burgesses and assistants.

Casper Shaffner, Town Clerk Lancaster, October 3, 1772. (See *Pa. Gazette*.)

Minutes of the September Meeting.

September 3, 1920.

The first regular after vacation meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society of 1920 was held in their room in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building with the President, Judge C. I. Landis, presiding.

The minutes of the June meeting were read and approved. The report of the Librarian, Mr. Harry Stehman, showed the following exchanges and donations since the June meeting:

A copy of the constitution of The Pennsylvania Society, published 1787, donated by Dr. Jordan of Philadelphia.

An Historical Sketch of St. Anthony's Church, Lancaster, from Mr. Harry Stehman, Jr.

A copy of "Her Majesty's Ship, Pinafore," sang by the Lancaster Opera Company in 1893, the donor anonymous.

The Interstate Commerce Commission Report for 1919.

Reports of the Annual Encampments of the Department of Pennsylvania, G. A. R., 1918 and 1919.

Bulletins 68 and 69, Bureau of American Ethnology, from the Smithsonian Institute.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, July, 1920.

German American Annals, May to December, 1919.

The Minnesota Historical Society Pamphlets.

The Ohio State Historical Society Pamphlets.

The Washington State Historical Society Quarterly, July, 1920.

The Lebanon County Historical Society pamphlet, December, 1919.

The Linden Hall Echo, June, 1920.

The Pennsylvania Archives, from Miss Anna H. Eagle.

Portrait of Eminent Americans from the same donor.

The Treasurer, Mr. A. K. Hostetter, reported as follows:

1920

June 4. Date of last meeting.

Balance on hand	\$202.77
Receipts	260.00
	<u>\$462.77</u>
Expenditures	10.00
On hand September 3	<u>\$452.77</u>

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER, *Treasurer.*

The Treasurer also submitted bills as follows and requested favorable action on same:

L. B. Herr and Son	\$11.50
D. F. Magee	5.00
Wm. H. Trost	5.00
New Era-Examiner Co.	19.82
Do.	119.89
	<u>\$161.21</u>

On motion these bills were approved and ordered paid.

The following new applicants were proposed for membership:

Paris F. Snyder, Lititz, Pa.

Mrs. Paris F. Snyder, Lititz, Pa.

Samuel F. Little, Silver Spring, Lancaster Co., Pa.

Mrs. Samuel F. Little, Silver Spring, Lancaster County, Pa.

Reah F. Stauffer, 246 E. Ross Street, City.

J. Jacques Stunzi, Lititz Pike, Lancaster, Pa.

Dr. J. A. Capp, 126 North Prince Street, City.

Mrs. J. A. Capp, 126 North Prince Street, City.

Mrs. Charles A. Fon Dersmith, 540 North Duke Street, City.

Miss Ina B. Kieffer, North Prince Street, City.

These names according to the Rules and By-Laws of the Society were laid over for final action until the October meeting.

The following persons nominated at the June meeting were then duly elected to membership:

Miss Stella W. Oster, 128 E. Lemon Street, City.

Levi B. Huber, R. F. D. 5, Lancaster, Pa.

Harry N. Nissley, Union National Bank, Mount Joy.

Miss Marie P. Orr, 31 North Lime Street, City.

Miss Sara E. Hoak, 29 E. James Street, City.

D. F. Magee, Esq., then reported for the Committee on Publication of Pamphlets that the New Era-Examiner Printing Company offers to continue to print the pamphlets on the same terms as heretofore and will endeavor to have all papers to date out very soon. This has been done with one exception, the paper of which is not at hand owing to a misunderstanding in which the writer failed to leave his paper for publication.

Mr. Magee then read the following Report of the Summer Outing and Carpenter Celebration held June 26. (See Report.)

President Landis read a request from Mr. William Barret, who is writing a history of Major Andre, for the use of the letter of Major Andre in the possession of our Society for the purpose of translation and publication. On motion of Mr. Hostetter this was agreed to and the matter left in the hands of the President.

A communication from Miss Mildred E. Wiley, of the Lancaster Recreation and Playground Association, requesting the cooperation of our Society in celebrating the tercentenary anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, was received. No action was taken.

Mr. Hostetter referred to the death of Miss Martha Bladen Clark and moved that a committee be appointed to draw resolutions. The motion receiving favorable action, the President appointed Messrs. A. K. Hostetter, D. F. Magee and Mrs. Mary N. Robinson.

The following Resolutions were offered and adopted, copies to be sent to the newspapers and also to the family.

In the death of Martha Bladen Clark the Lancaster County Historical Society has lost one of its most valuable and energetic members. Belonging to it from its earliest days, her interest in it never faltered. Her time and her abilities were devoted to its service. As secretary, she was faithful and untiring; as a writer, accurate and painstaking. Nothing that she could do in its interests was ever neglected; nothing that she could undertake was too much trouble for her. We desire to place this brief tribute to her memory on record in our proceedings, and to bear witness to the fact that as a Society we fully feel and understand the loss which we have sustained.

A. K. HOSTETTER,

D. F. MAGEE,

MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON,

Committee.

Mr. Magee, appointed to look up the matter for the Graves Registration Service, reported that nothing definite had as yet been done.

The request of the Minnesota Society for our pamphlets was brought up. It was decided to endeavor to ascertain what pamphlets available for exchange or sale were in the Society's Archives.

The paper of the evening was prepared and read by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson. The subject was "Some Gleanings from Some Old Wills." The paper was very interesting and was much enjoyed by all present. A vote of thanks was extended to the writer and the paper referred to the proper Committee for publication. In the absence of the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary officiated.

J. F. SUMMY, Assistant Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

ST. MICHAEL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH AT
STRASBURG,
BY WILLIAM FREDERIC WORNER.
MINUTES OF THE OCTOBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 8.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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Saint Michael's Lutheran Church, Strasburg.

BY WILLIAM FREDERIC WORNER.

Strange visions of the storied past
From years long gone arise,
And bid me tell the quaint old tales
They form before mine eyes.
Tales of the men of former days
Of those who built her walls,
The men upon whose peaceful graves
St. Michael's shadow falls.

The earliest reference extant to the Lutherans of Strasburg township is that found in the old register of the German Lutheran congregation in New Holland, on the first page of which, under date of May 1, 1730, the Rev. John Casper Stoever recorded: "The List of baptized children in the congregations at Mill Creek, Pequea, and Beber Creek." This is the first mention of the Strasburg Lutheran Church, for the Beber (Beaver) Creek congregation has always been identified as the one which worshipped, at that time, or subsequently, at the "Old Dutch Burying Ground."

The Rev. John Frederick Handschuh,¹ in the account of his journey thru Pennsylvania, relates: "On the 26th of May, 1748, at the close of the afternoon service held in Trinity Church, Lancaster, at 3 P. M., at which service Mr. Schaum preached, several persons came to speak with me² from Earltown, from Beaver Creek and Strasburg township, asking whether I could also serve them with the Word of God and when, whom I informed as well as I could at present."

Again on June 30th he records:³ "Between the morning and the afternoon service people who were sent by a small Lutheran congregation from Strasburg township, came and most earnestly entreated that I should indeed also care for their souls, to whom, however, I could not as yet give a certain answer, but many a necessary admonition."

The Lutherans of Strasburg township became so persistent that they absolutely refused to be put off any longer. A final appeal was made a week later. Under date of July 7th the Rev. Mr. Handschuh states:⁴ "I had much to do with several people from Strasburg township who would by no means

¹ Hallische Nachrichten, page 201.

² Pastor Handschuh was on his first visit to Lancaster.

³ Hallische Nachrichten, page 209.

⁴ Hallische Nachrichten, page 210.

take a refusal. Upon their many entreaties, I had at last to promise that after eight days I would visit them and preach for them."

That a delegation from the Lutheran congregation of Strasburg township, a few weeks later, waited on the Rev. Mr. Handschuh and accompanied him to their place of worship, is evident from his own account:⁵ "Early on the 24th of July, 1748, I was taken to Strasburg township, fourteen miles from here (Lancaster) to preach and to take charge of the congregation of that place. I entreated the people very impressively, publicly and particularly to spare me if they were not very earnestly concerned for their edification unto salvation, as I had more to do in the two other congregations than I could well attend to, and the road to them was too far and entirely too fatiguing, as it was necessary to ride over a tolerably large stream (Conestoga) two pretty large rivulets (Mill and Pequea creeks) and several stony and marshy tracts of country."

Thus far it has not been ascertained whether the Rev. Mr. Stoever, who, prior to 1740, resided in New Holland, organized the Strasburg congregation or not. Even after his removal to his new home on the Quitapahila, in Lebanon county, in 1740, he continued as pastor of the New Holland Church until 1746, serving five or six congregations and doubtless organizing others.⁶

The first record still in possession of the Strasburg congregation is that commenced by the Rev. Johann Gottlieb Engelland,⁷ a wandering Wurttemberg theological student, who had been the pastor of a congregation in Hamburg, Germany. He and the Rev. Tobias Wagner, who had also been a pastor in Wurttemberg, and the Rev. Henry Burcher Gabriel Wartmann served Trinity Church, Lancaster, from 1751 until March, 1753, when the Rev. John Siegfried Gerock entered upon the pastorate.⁸ It is probable that the Rev. Mr. Wagner also labored in Strasburg.

The title page of the old record of the Strasburg Lutheran Church reads as follows:

"Church record of the congregation in Strasburg, commencing January 5, 1754, on which may be found as far as possible the names both of those baptized from this time forth, in addition to the names of those who have died as well as those who have been confirmed."

It is evident from the Rev. Mr. Engelland's entries, that the register, altho commenced in 1754, contains earlier records. At this time, 1753-1754, the congregation were building or had already built a church edifice. On the second page of the record, in a very poor hand, he tells us that in the year 1753, the congregation received a contribution of boards, already fitted, tongued and grooved, for a sounding board for the pulpit.

Altho the first baptisms correspond in date with the erection of the church, others recorded later were performed before this time, one in 1748 and another as early as 1745.

Among those baptized occur these names: Hans George Wuerfel (now

⁵ Hallische Nachrichten, page 211.

⁶ Schmauk's "History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," page 267.

⁷ At Bergstrasse Church, near Ephrata, the name Engelland is given as John Theophilus, presumably one and the same person.

⁸ Schmauk's "History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," page 322.

Warfel), Wendel Seits, Casper Rapp, George Lentz, Wendel Traut, John Jacob Brua, Dewald Brua, J. Nichol, Ignatig Lesdner, Philip Huber, Barthaser V. Kennan, Martin Kuhn, Conrad Vieman, Mary Elizabeth Burkhard, J. Nicol Hoffman, Lusanna Wuerfel, Paul Traut, Peter Berger, Matthias and Elizabeth Berger, Henry Raks, Johannes Buchles, John Roessel (now Russel), John Yost, Marie Keett, Alexander Gusert, Conrad Walz, J. Adam Stiner, Peter Shaeffer, Leonhard Bickel, Heinrich Valtz, J. Schmidt, John George Saal, Peter Berger, Paul Wild, Frederick Weise, Felix Bachman, Frederick Danninger, Philip Jacob Gruendler, Balthaser Boll, Jonas Raab, George Hauber and Sophia Ruth.

While it is obvious that the Lutherans of Strasburg township had formed a congregation prior to the erection of the "Old Dutch Church," the date on which the record was commenced January 5, 1754, is considered the time when a permanent organization was effected, which has existed ever since.

The first church was a log building about twenty feet square. It was weather-boarded about thirty years after it was built. The entrance was at the eastern end of the church, with windows on the north and south sides of the building. This church was not located in the borough of Strasburg, but about one and one half miles to the southeast, at a point where the road to the Nickel Mines crosses the road from Soudersburg to the California store.⁹

Thus far the writer has not been able to learn why this particular site was chosen. Rupp tells us that the first house¹⁰ was built in the village of Strasburg in 1733, and that the little hamlet was of rapid growth, owing to its location on the "old Conestoga road." Over this road the Indian traders travelled to their posts in the wilderness, and were followed later by the pioneers in Conestoga wagons seeking new homes in the fertile valleys west of the Susquehanna. Strasburg was one of the chief stopping places, containing at one time as many as three public houses. In 1753, the date of the erection of the church, Strasburg must have been a village of considerable size and importance. Yet we find the Lutherans organizing a congregation and erecting a church, not in the village where its convenience to the greater number of inhabitants was obvious, but one and one half miles to the southeast, off from the main highway and in the then backwoods. We ask, why was this site chosen?

The ridge of the Mine Hill was settled principally by Lutherans and German Reformed, who used the building in common for many years. These early German settlers had little means, were inclined to be clannish and adhered firmly to their native tongue. Strasburg was settled by peoples of different nationalities, artisans of various trades, who were inclined to barter. There was little social intercourse. The Palatines were mostly followers of Meno Simon, and having some means, settled on the better lands north of the Mine Hill. The tenets of the Mennonite faith were much more rigid than those of the Lutherans and forbade religious affiliation with other sects. This to a great extent precluded social intercourse and accounts for so much intermarrying among the early Mennonites. The feeling for race and creed

⁹ Ellis & Evans, page 1065.

¹⁰ Built by a Bowman on the site of the property owned at present by Mrs. Charles Keneagy.

was stronger in those days and kept the different peoples apart, as for instance the Quakers and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the southern end to a late date.

The little log structure¹¹ so well known for many years as the "Old Dutch Church" was erected on the farm now owned by John Banzhof. A diligent search among the deeds in the Recorder's office has failed to reveal the identity of the patentee of the land on which the church was built. Whether the trustees in erecting the building just squatted on the land, or obtained permission, or secured title thereto, has not been definitely ascertained up to this date.

The original tract of land granted to the Lutherans for church and burial purposes contained about one acre. The farm passed into the possession of John Eshleman, whose heirs sold it to Hervey Brackbill in 1851. From a recitation in the deed¹² we learn that it included "one acre at the northeast corner whereon is a burying ground which in title to the said John Eshelman (Deceased) the same was included but a reserve made for burying and other purposes."

Until 1795 or 1796, the property was either owned jointly by the Lutheran and German Reformed congregations, or else it was used in common. Having disagreed about some matter they separated, the Lutherans retaining possession, while the Reformed congregation built a church of their own at New Providence¹³ in 1796.

The "Old Dutch Church" was still standing about fifty years ago.¹⁴ During the early part of the 19th century it was converted into a schoolhouse. Jacob Pfautz taught school in it from 1812 to 1815. All vestiges of the old log building have long since disappeared, even the greater part of the old graveyard has been plowed over. The few tombstones lying scattered in a wilderness of weeds are all that is left to remind the historian that at this place stood the first Lutheran Church in Strasburg township, and in its old neglected graveyard lie the mortal remains of Stoutzenbergers, Schmidts and Warfels, peace to their ashes.

The site of the old church did not seem to be the permanent home for the congregation, for by deed¹⁵ dated February 7, 1760, Edward Dougherty, of Cecil county, Maryland, in consideration of five shillings paid by Frederick Klyng and Jacob Pfautz gave the parcel of land containing one acre "in trust to and for the only proper Use, Benefit and Behoof of the Lutheran Congregation in the said village and township of Strasburg to be forever hereafter made use of by them for a churchyard and Burial Place."

Thus it will be seen that the Lutherans used this new burial ground in

¹¹ Also called Stoutzenberger's Church, owing perhaps, to the number of persons bearing that name in the adjacent graveyard.

¹² Book Y, vol. 7, page 26.

¹³ Was there not a Lutheran church or at least an organized congregation of Lutherans located in or near New Providence prior to 1796, since the Rev. Mr. Handschuh and others repeatedly make the distance from Lancaster to the "Old Dutch Church 14" miles? It is only 10 miles.

¹⁴ Senator John G. Homsher says it was still standing when he was a boy.

¹⁵ Book V, vol. 3, page 364.

the village of Strasburg, tho they continued to worship in the "Old Dutch Church" for nearly fifty years longer. It is evident that they looked forward to the removal of their house of worship to the village of Strasburg at an early date.

In 1821, the Rev. Dr. Endress noted on the first page of one of Trinity's records¹⁶ that at the time he made the entry, the Strasburg congregation was connected with that of old Trinity, Lancaster, or at least considered a part of its organization. The Rev. J. W. Early tells us that this statement must be somewhat qualified, as the Strasburg congregation was served by pastors living at New Holland as early as 1790, if not prior to that time. The Strasburg congregation was evidently served by the Rev. John Siegfried Geroch during the time of his ministry in Trinity Church, Lancaster, from March, 1753, until March, 1767. Whether it was also served by the clergy who officiated in Trinity during the vacancy from 1767 to 1769 cannot be ascertained. The Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg superintended the supply of Trinity and it is probable that he and the Rev. Christian Emanuel Schultze, who also preached during that time, ministered to the Strasburg congregation.

As no baptisms are recorded between 1756 and 1775, and as there is no record of communicants before 1780, we cannot state positively that the Rev. J. H. C. Helmuth served the Strasburg congregation during his entire ministry at Trinity or not. But it is certain that he served it during the first part of his pastorate. As the register was resumed in 1775, this would indicate a change of pastors about this time. The Rev. William Kurtz served the congregation with occasional services from 1763 to 1775, and regularly from 1775 to 1779. He moved to Lebanon¹⁷ in 1780.

In one of the old records of Trinity Church, the Rev. Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg states that he himself occasionally ministered to and superintended the supply of the Strasburg congregation from 1780 to 1785.

The Strasburg congregation asked Synod in 1783 for permission to employ the clergyman then serving at New Holland. Since all the baptisms, as well as the lists of communicants from the close of 1786 until 1789 are evidently recorded by the same hand, it is altogether probable that the Rev. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, who took charge of the New Holland congregation in May, 1786, served at Strasburg during this time. The Rev. Mr. Melsheimer was undoubtedly the most scholarly ministrant the Strasburg church ever employed. He established the first public school on New Holland, and was made Professor of Languages in Franklin College in 1787. He came to this country during the Revolution as the chaplain of a German regiment.¹⁸ He was the earliest local investigating entomologist.

On the 13th of June 1790, the Rev. Henry Moeller, who had been the chaplain of a German regiment under Washington during the Revolutionary

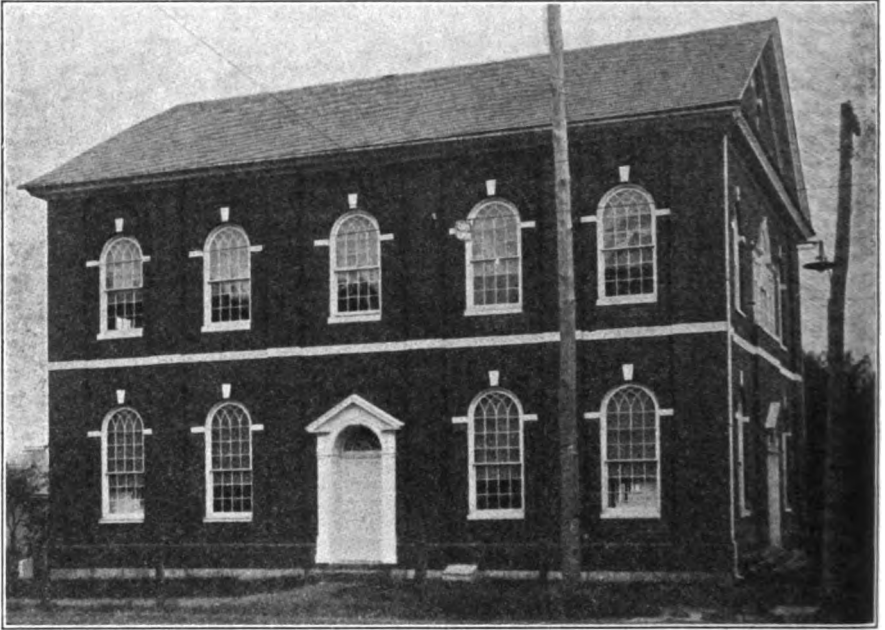
¹⁶ Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Church of the Holy Trinity, page 86.

¹⁷ Schmauk, page 282.

¹⁸ Schmauk, page 391.

war, became the pastor of the Strasburg Church, and served the congregation until about the close of 1794. He resided at New Holland.¹⁹

His successor was a candidate named Peter Bentz,²⁰ who assumed the pastorate in the autumn of 1795, and ended his ministry in the fall of 1801. He remained on the list of licentiates during the entire time he served in Strasburg. A part of the time he resided in Mount Joy and during the remainder in Cocalico. He died in 1802.



ST. MICHAEL'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH,
STRASBURG, PA.

In September, 1798, the Rev. John Plitt, of Chambersburg, was called to the pastorate of the New Holland Church, and during the latter part of 1803, he added Strasburg to his charge. His pastorate in the latter congregation terminated in March, 1812, being the longest since that of the Rev. J. S. Gerock.

The old log structure becoming dilapidated, the congregation with the aid of the people in the community built the present brick church in the

¹⁹ Rev. Moeller confirmed a class of 23 catechumens in 1791, and 15 more in the spring of 1794, yet the permanent increase of the congregation seems not to have been very great. The communicants numbered 30 in 1791 and 45 when he left.

²⁰ Frequently spelled "Penns" by some of Synod's secretaries.

village of Strasburg. The cornerstone was laid on August 25, 1806. The ministers present were: Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, D.D., noted botanist and pastor of Trinity, Lancaster; Rev. Dr. Clarkson, rector of St. James' Episcopal, Lancaster, and the Rev. John Plitt. The building was not completed until ten years later. At the dedication of the church on August 15, 1816, the following clergy were present: Rev. Dr. Endress, pastor of Trinity; Rev. J. H. Hoffmeier, pastor of the German Reformed Church in Lancaster; Rev. Dr. Sample, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Strasburg, and the Rev. John Jacob Strein, pastor of St. Michael's.

Whether it was the burden of church building or not that stood in the way cannot now be determined, but the fact remains that the congregation seems not to have increased during this period. The pastoral relations of the Rev. John Plitt were severed in March, 1813.

The Rev. Peter Filbert became pastor of the New Holland Church in 1814, but whether he also assumed charge of St. Michael's cannot be ascertained at this time. His pastorate was brief, if he served St. Michael's at all, for he remained but a short while at New Holland.

St. Michael's Church, Strasburg, in common with the other organizations of its day resorted to the means then in vogue of raising money—a public lottery. An advertisement of the Church at Strasburg announcing a lottery to defray the expenses incurred by the trustees first appeared in the Lancaster Journal on April 24, 1807. Prizes ranging from 20 up to 2000 dollars were offered. The advertisement appeared weekly for nearly two years without any apparent results. This induced the managers of the lottery to alter their scheme so as to require less money for the purchase of tickets. The new plan was submitted to the governor and his approval was obtained on December 7, 1808. The advertisement setting forth the new scheme appeared in the Journal on June 27, 1809, and was inserted regularly for some time. On March 10, 1810, the managers notified the public that the drawing of the lottery had commenced. If it actually had, as stated, it took a long time, for the lucky numbers were not published until June 3, 1816.

Unfortunately no record exists of the expenses incurred in the erection of the Church. It is also impossible to state how much money was raised by this lottery, there being but one entry on the old register acknowledging the receipt of 82 dollars from the venture. It does not seem to have been very successful. But thru it the congregation became involved in a lawsuit and were required to pay one Peter Fagent a claim of 500 dollars and the costs.

The Rev. Dr. Endress in 1815 wrote in the Trinity Church²¹ record: "The congregation at Strasburg which formerly communed with that at Lancaster has for some time been engaged in building a church, and it is now finished. They make application to the Lancaster pastor for his services, but he cannot well undertake it, and he therefore directs them to apply to Candidate Strein."

In 1816, the congregation petitioned Synod to permit the Rev. John Jacob Strein, then a candidate living at Elizabethtown, to serve them. He at once assumed charge of St. Michael's, remaining in residence at Elizabethtown

²¹ Memorial Volume of the Holy Trinity, page 86.

until 1820. He then moved to Columbia where he resided until 1840, when he moved to Lancaster. He continued to preach German exclusively until he ended his pastoral relations in 1865. His was the longest pastorate in the history of the church, tho there was no great increase in the congregation.

Until 1897, St. Michael's had always been served by ministers who lived at a distance, either at Lancaster, New Holland, Elizabethtown or Millersville. The German language was used exclusively from the time of its humble beginnings until 1860, when English was introduced. The two languages were then used alternately until 1896, when the German was discontinued.

The Methodists and Presbyterians were given permission to use the building on condition that their meetings would not interfere with the Lutheran services. The noise made by the Methodists²² at the time of their revivals was so annoying that the Lutheran council adopted a resolution, which it seems to have cancelled immediately, prohibiting the other denominations from using the building. Eventually the Methodists secured other quarters and the Presbyterians erected a meeting house of their own.

Until 1819, St. Michael's had been served by pastors of the New Holland Church for about thirty years, but it was still looked upon as a branch or mission church having a quasi relation to Trinity, Lancaster.

An application for a charter was made on December 30, 1816, and the following names appear on the instrument:

" Minister of the Gospel.

" John Jacob Strein

" Trustees.

" Peter Zegenheim

" Jacob Shindel, Sr.

" John Holl

" Jacob Miller

" Michael Rine

" Members of the Congregation.

" Michael Withers

" Leonard Kessell

" Jacob Rockey

" Andrew Zimmerman

" John Holl, Jun.

" Peter Holl, Jun.

" Samuel Holl

" Peter Holl, Senr.

" Peter Pintler

" Heinrich Aument

" Daniel Boeshor

" George Kessler "

The charter,²³ written on a large heavy piece of parchment, was secured on March 27, 1817, and is signed by Amos Ellmaker, Attorney General of Pennsylvania. Simon Snyder, then governor, issued an order with his autograph and the seal of the state attached for enrollment on the 6th day of June, 1817.

Altho St. Michael's had evidently owned a house of worship since 1753, it did not adopt a constitution of its own until December 8, 1822.

Dr. Schmauk, in referring to the laying of the cornerstone of St. Michael's Lutheran Church, Strasburg, states that heretofore the Lutherans at this place

²² Ellis & Evans, page 659.

²³ Book K, vol. 9, page 637.

were members of the Lancaster (Trinity) Church.²⁴ This is incorrect. The facts are these: Prior to 1780, no record of communicants appears on the register of St. Michael's congregation. It is assumed that the church lacked the proper vessels for a reverent celebration of the sacrament. Descendants of the early settlers relate that their ancestors drove to Lancaster for the quarterly communion, tho they were members of St. Michael's. About this time (1780) the church purchased the beautiful pewter communion and baptismal services, in excellent condition today and still used by the congregation.

In 1819, Michael Withers, Sr., presented the church with a pipe organ. The instrument was made in his farmhouse in Lime Valley. It was used continuously for nearly a century, and has only recently been sold. A pair of "jingle socks," presumably a century old, were until a late date used to collect the offering. In 1897, Trinity Church, Lancaster, presented St. Michael's with two old walnut chairs for use in the chancel and an oil painting by Leon von Osko entitled: "The Incarnation." These have recently been disposed of.²⁵



OLD ST. MICHAEL'S COMMUNION SERVICE.

St. Michael's Church building is a type of architecture known as Romanesque. The name of the builder is buried in obscurity. Tradition says that the Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg was the architect. If this be so, he possibly intended it to be a reproduction of Trinity Church on a somewhat smaller scale. A close examination shows that it followed the same general lines of the Lancaster Church both as to exterior and interior before Trinity was renovated. A large brick steeple had been erected at the east end of the

²⁴ Schmauk, page 350.

²⁵ The painting was purchased by the DuPonts.

church, but when it had reached a few feet above the roof of the nave, the funds became exhausted and it was never completed. This tower was rather imposing in appearance, and contained arched windows, which, architecturally, corresponded with those of the main building. About the year 1835, the church council, in default of financial resources, determined to tear down the tower, sell the bricks and liquidate the claim. This was done subsequently, and an ell was built to the house in which Dr. Tinney now lives. This building was used for many years and known as the Strasburg Academy. When the school closed its doors years later, the ell was torn down and the bricks were used to erect the dwelling in which Mrs. Hess now lives.

Some have expressed the opinion that the cornerstone was built into the old steeple, but they have not been able to confirm this. A search for it in the present building has proven unsuccessful. Thus far no person has been found who remembers having seen the cornerstone. The private journal of the Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg contains the declaration that was deposited in it. Were we able to locate this journal it might throw some light on the subject, but it, too, has disappeared.

The following is a list of pastors who have served St. Michael's congregation from its inception to the present day:

- Before 1748. Rev. John Casper Stoever.
- 1748-1751. Rev. John F. Handschuh.
- 1751-1754. Rev. Johann Gottlieb Engelland.
Rev. Tobias Wagner.
- 1754-1767. Rev. John Siegfried Geroch.
- 1767-1769. Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg.
Rev. Christian Emanuel Schultze.
- 1769-1775. Rev. J. H. C. Helmuth.
- 1775-1779. Rev. William Kurtz.
- 1780-1785. Rev. Gotthielf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg.
- 1786-1789. Rev. Frederic Valentine Melsheimer.
- 1790-1794. Rev. Henry Moeller.
- 1795-1801. Rev. Peter Bentz.
- 1803-1812. Rev. John Plitt.
- 1812-1816. Rev. Peter Filbert (possibly vacant part of time).
- 1816-1865. Rev. John Jacob Strein.
- 1860-1865. Rev. J. W. Early (English only).
- 1865-1866. " " " " (both languages).
- 1866-1872. Rev. H. H. Bruning, D.D.
- 1872-1874. Vacant.
- 1875-1879. Rev. S. R. Boyer.
- 1879-1880. Rev. E. L. Reed.
- 1880-1885. Rev. A. B. Markley, Ph.D.
- 1885-1886. Rev. E. H. Schmoll.
- 1887-1888. Rev. J. W. Early.
- 1889-1896. Rev. W. C. Lauer.
- 1897-1912. Rev. G. W. McClanahan.
- 1912-1916. Rev. Samuel A. Ziegenfuss.
- 1916-..... Rev. W. R. Knerr.

Minutes of the October Meeting.

Lancaster, October 1, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this evening in their room in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Building. The meeting was called to order at seven thirty o'clock with the President, Judge C. I. Landis, officiating.

The Minutes of the September meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian's report showed donations and exchanges as follows:

The Minute Book of the Lancaster, Elizabethtown and Middletown Turnpike Road Company, a stock ledger, a copper plate for engraving certificates, seal, etc., all presented by Mr. Charles E. Long, of Lancaster.

The Fortieth Anniversary souvenir booklet of the F. W. Woolworth Co., presented by Mr. A. K. Hostetter, of Lancaster.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

A Bibliography of Syracuse History, from the Onondaga Historical Association.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for September, and proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society at its 67th annual meetings.

The Snyder County Historical Society Bulletin.

The forty-ninth annual report of the Grand Rapids Public Library.

A muzzle loading revolver picked up on the Gettysburg battlefield the day after the battle, presented by the family of Henry G. Lipp, deceased.

A spray of edelweiss gathered by President Buchanan on the Alps while touring Switzerland, presented by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson.

A roster of a company of volunteers, commanded by Captain George Hambright, of the 121st Regiment under Colonel Jeremiah Mosher, which encamped at York 26 August, 1814, on which are enrolled twelve officers and sixty-three privates, also presented by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, of Lancaster.

HARRY STEHMAN, Librarian.

The report was accepted as read and a vote of thanks was extended the donors.

The Treasurer's report is as follows:

1920.

Sept. 4. Date of last meeting.

Balance on hand	\$452.77
G. W. Steinman	1,000.00
Receipts and Dues	20.00
	<u>\$1,472.77</u>
Expenses	151.21

Oct. 1. Balance in Treasury\$1,321.56

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER, Treasurer.

The Treasurer called attention to the fact that as the Society had a large balance in the Treasury it might be well to think about investing some of it. He suggested United States Liberty Bonds as a good investment. A motion was made by Mr. Hostetter that the matter be given consideration. It was decided that the President, Judge C. I. Landis, and the Treasurer, Mr. A. K. Hostetter, be authorized to give this matter the consideration called for in the motion.

Mention was appreciatively made of the clause in the will of the late Miss Armstrong bequeathing to the Society the annuity of three hundred dollars.

The Treasurer presented a bill for \$38.67 from the New Era Printing Company which was ordered to be paid.

There was one new application for membership, Dr. George R. Huber, of Lancaster.

The application under the rules of the Society was held over until the next meeting for action.

The applicants presented at the September meeting were elected.

They were:

Mr. and Mrs. Paris Snyder, Lititz, Pa.

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel F. Little, Silver Spring, Lancaster Co.

Mr. Reah Stauffer, 246 E. Ross Street.

Mr. J. Jacques Stunzi, Lititz Pike, Lancaster.

Dr. and Mrs. J. A. Capp, 126 N. Prince St.

Mrs. Charles A. Fon Dersmith, 540 N. Duke Street.

Miss Ina B. Kieffer, 41 N. Prince St.

The President, Judge Landis, announced that a communication from Toronto University having been received requesting two of our pamphlets for review, viz., The Loyalists of Lancaster county by Dr. Diffenderffer, he had had them sent and hoped the Society approved, as it was a customary thing to do. The Society approved the President's action.

Mr. Hostetter reported that the Andre Letter which Mr. Wm. Barratt had requested at the September meeting and which the Society instead of approving action allowing the letter to go out of our Archives ordered a photograph to be taken instead, such photograph had been taken by Darmstaetter, photographers, and sent to Mr. Barratt.

A letter from Captain Dillin asking the Society to help him to get data for the collection of rifles and weapons which he was desirous to use in elaborating a book on the subject was read. A great deal of interest was taken in the letter and a considerable discussion followed, in which Judge Landis and Mr. Hostetter took part. There was no action taken on the letter.

The paper of the evening, entitled The Lutheran Church of Strasburg, was read by Mr. William Worner, its author. The paper was most interesting and a very interesting discussion followed.

The meeting adjourned at nine o'clock.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

RAFTING ON THE SUSQUEHANNA,
By D. F. MAGEE, Esq.
MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 9.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA.

1920

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Rafting on the Susquehanna.

By D. F. MAGEE, ESQ.

Rafting on the Susquehanna began as a steady business within the first decade of our existence as a nation, and gradually grew to very large proportions for 60 to 70 years and then gradually slackened for a decade or more and finally ceased altogether in about 1890, after which the sight of a raft or ark passing below Marietta was a great rarity.

The period of its great prosperity was from 1790 to 1870 and it lasted entirely just about 100 years.

The story of it is interesting and rather a romantic one. Its pursuit called into action a class of rugged, hardy daring men, who, like the old pioneers in the early days in Pennsylvania, these men were also pioneers into the entry into the forests primeval that clad the hills of the Susquehanna along both the east and west branches and reached northward even to and across the southern border line of the state of New York.

These hills were then a wilderness and limitless forests of white pine grew thereon. This was a species and kind of pine that was unsurpassed in the quality of timber it furnished to the industries of our country. In strength, lightness, straightness, and endurance in weather exposure, whether used in the masts and spars of our fleets of sailing ships of that day; or as building lumber in millions of our houses, barns, bridges, mills and factories, the quality of the Pennsylvania white pine at that day has never been equalled since by any lumber grown in the east.

This wood seemed to defy the inroads of decay and the writer hereof knows of several houses in our county and a number of our covered bridges that have stood for 100 years, and in several instances the houses for considerably greater periods. Yet the timber in them of white pine is perfectly sound today, and would last many years longer yet, than any new kind that we can buy.

Therefore, the lumber was a necessity for the building up and growth of our country and during many years of that time there was no other possible way to transport it to the sections of our country where it was most urgently needed than by rafting it in the log form from the wild sections in which it grew.

The Susquehanna River was the only river available for that purpose. It reached in its long and winding courses from the edge of New York State to tide water at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. For more than half of the period covered by this business, railroads and canals were practically unknown and even after their development were totally inadequate to handle this kind of traffic.

As Lancaster County then included in its territory all of the land in the

Susquehanna Valley for some miles above Harris' Ferry and Clark's Ferry to the Maryland line with the exception of the County of York, which had recently been created, it naturally fell to Lancaster County to supply the men from her comparatively thicker population to fill the ranks of the rivermen of the early day, and well did she respond to the call. They came almost exclusively from the English-speaking section; Little Britain, Fulton, the Drummers, Martic and the Donegals, including the present boroughs of Washington, Columbia, Marietta and Middletown.

Pilot Town and Port Deposit, just over the Maryland line, likewise furnished a fair quota of the raft men.

There were three distinct branches of this work carried on during three different periods of the year—the one being the cutting and hauling of the trees from the forest and placing the same by the banks of the Susquehanna or some one of its tributaries ready for the rafting to begin. This was called the "logging" and the season for this began in August and continued through fall and winter until early spring. The felling of the trees was the first process and took the early fall season, which time all lumbermen know is the best to fell timber trees, beginning in August. The next step was dragging it on skids or sleds, or often sending down the steep hills and mountains by long chutes from high up on hill tops to the creek or river bottom. This was the winter's work, performed best and easiest in the winter's snows, which always covered those high altitudes throughout the winter. Then as spring approached and swelling buds foretold the breaking up of the ice-bound streams, skilled and practiced men by various means in various ways gathered and placed the millions of logs in the streams, often floating them singly, one after another, in the smaller streams, usually called "log drives," down to the larger streams and into small lakes or ponds, especially arranged for that purpose, where men trained in this line bound and built them into rafts.

This process, though apparently crude and simple, resulted in very strong and effective binding and was done as follows:

The logs for one raft were all lined up side by side in the water, or on ice frozen over the pond or stream where the raft was to start on its journey. The craftsman then laid across each end of his raft about 3 feet back from the front of the logs and from the rear in the same manner and at right angles thereto a row of green saplings, some 4 or 5 inches in diameter. Next, close to each side of the saplings, which were called "lashing sticks," he bored an auger hole several inches deep in each and every log. He then placed astride of his lashing stick a bow or yoke made of green white oak, flat, some 5 inches wide, with the end turned down to go into the auger holes of each log, he having prepared a number ahead. After inserting them in the auger holes, wedges made of white oak also were driven in beside them, which secured the ends of the bows strongly into the log. Thus these "lashings," as the whole outfit, pole, yoke and wedge was called, bound every log tight and firmly into the raft, as closely beside one another as it was practical to place them. These rafts usually when made up in the smaller streams were narrow in width, say 10 or 12 feet, and were called "puppy" rafts. After bringing them down into the waters of the Susquehanna they were

doubled up by lashing two or more together in the same manner, side by side, and were then made to a width not to exceed 30 feet and two or three of these rafts were coupled together one behind the other by a skillful means of breaking joints by moving a certain number of the logs forward or backwards, so as to lap into and secure the raft following it. When thus made up the raft was 30 feet wide by from 200 to 300 feet long.

In that size and shape they were floated down the Susquehanna River to Port Deposit into tide water, being carried along solely by the current of the swiftly flowing river. After reaching Port Deposit they were again very much doubled up, by placing one on top of another, sometimes 3 and 4 deep, which process of piling up was accomplished by forcing the one down into the water and floating it underneath the pile instead of lifting it up and placing it on top, which, of course, would have been impossible. They were then called "floats," and were ready for their long journey by tidewater out into the Chesapeake or Delaware Bay by way of canals and went either to Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York and were drawn by tugs. This, of course, was after the building of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, prior to which time Baltimore was the market for all rafts, as I shall hereinafter show.

At this point I will return to the earlier history of the navigation of the Susquehanna River, with the dream, the plans, the probabilities, and the actual accomplished facts in the process of making it a navigable stream; and I may here remark that these dreams and plans have by no means been abandoned if we are to judge by writings, surveys, estimates and popular meetings to that end, which even now are in process of development under the direction of the national government, in part.

We must bear in mind the fact, now well known, but in the earlier days not so well understood, that the Susquehanna River is a very long and large river, drawing on an immense basin, but is very rapid flowing, with a heavy percentage of fall from its source to its mouth, and flowing throughout its length, with a few notable exceptions, over a shallow, rocky bed, hemmed in on both sides by hills, often rising to great height, and a great part of it coming from the foothills of the Alleghenies.

While there are many rapids and some places rising to the dignity of falls, yet there is none impassable in coming down, though very many of impossible passage in going up stream, under the smallest boat, even when under the highest possible power.

The earliest mention I find in history on this point is from an extract from John Penn's Journal in 1750 reciting the events of a trip made by him from Philadelphia by way of Reading and Harrisburg to Carlisle, in which he says: "From this vast forest and the expansive bed of the river, navigable to its source for craft, carrying two tons and under." Of course, Penn had never gone over the river bed into this vast forest, nor had he ever negotiated Conewago Falls, Cully's Falls, Horse Gap, Hollow Rock, or the Falls of Bald Friar, even down stream in a canoe.

Nevertheless we find from the beginning of the early settlements both in Pennsylvania and Maryland a high estimate was placed on this river as a means of transportation and communication for commercial purposes and

each state put forth strong efforts to gain control of the stream, and its advantages, breaking out at times into open hostilities, as note: "Cresops' War" and other similar military diversion and marauding parties.

Some years later, after our independence, we find the city of Baltimore bending its energies strongly to the same end, which movement became especially strong about 1795. At this time Baltimore was practically getting all of the trade which came down the river, which was growing quite heavy, and in 1799 the business men of Baltimore, aided by an appropriation of \$30,000, made by the state, expended some \$70,000 in clearing and improving the rafting channel from Columbia to Port Deposit. With part of this money they built later a short canal, starting above Bald Friar Falls, which was a dangerous point to pass over, and ending some 4 miles below at tidewater.

In 1800 note is made of the fact that the first ark came down the river safely from Columbia and on to Baltimore, carrying a load of wheat, which incident was a matter of great rejoicing in Baltimore, as showing the possibilities of their city reaping the benefit of Susquehanna Valley business.

From that time on this trade increased very largely, until in 1812 we find in a Baltimore paper the following statement: "Many large rafts are coming down the Susquehanna to Baltimore. One large float (four rafts on top of one another) said to contain 2,500,000 feet of lumber arrived." And again we find this: "The lumber which composed this raft came mostly from Chenango and Broome counties, in New York, a distance of over 400 miles from Baltimore, where seven-eighths of the lumber that comes to Baltimore is collected.

"It is sold mainly to foreign buyers, and brings prices ranging from \$9, \$17, and \$23 per thousand."

After it was found the arks could safely navigate the river clear through (they having been coming only to Middletown and Marietta prior to that date) this trade increased very materially and we find the following statement of shipping entering Baltimore in 1820 from the Susquehanna River:

200	Arks	Carrying 11,000 tons of coal
1170	Arks	Carrying 41,718 tons of general Mdse
300	Keel Boats	Carrying 500,000 bushels of wheat
1638	rafts	containing 25,000,000 feet of lumber

It would seem to be in order just here to give the reader who may not understand just what the term "ark" meant," also what was a "Keel Boat," a description of each. The ark was simply a flat-bottom boat, roughly decked and enclosed, covered with a roof on top not unlike a square-built canal boat, though not so well or expensively built, but rather roughly thrown together and fastened mainly with wooden pins to stand the stress of but one trip down the river. They were, however, built of good lumber, but so put together that at the end of their journey at Baltimore or Philadelphia, they were dismantled or knocked apart and the lumber in them sold for building purposes. As they never could be taken back up the river, this was the best method of solving the problem of navigating the river, as no doubt the lumber in Baltimore when marketed, being new and without nails, was worth more than it cost to build the ark in the lumber country.

But Pennsylvania did not intend or agree that all this business which

they easily saw would increase in years to vast proportions should pass through the ports of another state and Philadelphia especially took steps to get her share of it if possible.

Along early in 1800 the matter of internal improvements became a great question among the people of Pennsylvania. The Commonwealth was growing strong in population and wealth, and the main thing required to achieve their greatest success was a better means of transportation and commercial relations between the seaboard cities and the outlying colonies of central and northwestern Pennsylvania. New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were all bidding for this business. Railroads were then unknown, therefore navigation by river route and canals took the attention of all as the only thing available. Public roads and wagon teams were totally inadequate to carry the trade.

Starting at the suggestion and urged by Governor Mifflin some years prior to 1800 Pennsylvania got busy through its legislature. Committees were appointed, surveys made and routes sought that offered possibilities of water routes. Companies were organized and incorporated and enthusiasm grew apace until the country became canal crazy. Fifteen companies were incorporated in Pennsylvania, before 1825, and a great system was planned to connect together the Delaware and the Schuylkill, and thence the valley of the Susquehanna, Juniata, and then by way of the Allegheny and Monongahela to the Great Lakes and on to the Ohio and the Mississippi Valley. Many of them were built, but nearly all excepting four or five proved financial failures. The state government became well nigh bankrupt with the failures of these canals to earn any income or pay interest, and finally when the railroads got to running and got the business of the section they were forced out of business or bought out at a sacrifice by the railroad companies to get rid of dangerous competition. None of them was built much before 1825 excepting the Schuylkill, and the Delaware and Raritan, which made money hauling anthracite coal to the cities along their lines.

The ones with which I have to treat are three, which vitally affected the in fact finally killed all navigation of the Susquehanna, at least the lower 50 miles of it from Marietta to Port Deposit. These three were the Chesapeake and Delaware, running from the Sassafra, on the Chesapeake side of Delaware Bay, at Fort Delaware; the canal or series of canals from Middletown to Lebanon, thence by way of Myerstown to Reading, connecting the Schuylkill Canal to Philadelphia and the anthracite coal mines; and the third was the Susquehanna and Tidewater, running from Middletown and Columbia and thence across the river and down the western shore to Havre-de-Grace.

The operation of these canals diverted pretty much all the ark and keel boat business from the river, from Marietta down. A great deal of it went from the river at Middletown, through what was called the Union Canal, by way of Reading to Philadelphia, and Baltimore's dream of gaining this trade vanished.

How hard Baltimore fought for this trade is shown by the fact that they afterwards chartered in their own state a railroad company to run a line from Baltimore to what is now called York Haven, to tap the river at a point above Conewago Falls in order to catch the trade that went from Mid-

dletown to Philadelphia. This move was blocked, however, by the Pennsylvania Legislature flatly refusing to grant a charter across York county, on Pennsylvania soil. This proposition died for the time at least, but finally culminated in building the Pennsylvania Northern, which runs from Baltimore by way of York Haven to Harrisburg, and is now a part of the Pennsylvania system. Baltimore was hard hit again when the Chesapeake and Delaware bays were connected, as above noted, by the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, for thereafter very much of all rafting timbers that came down the Susquehanna after being piled up into floats at Port Deposit were taken through that canal and up the Delaware River to shipbuilding yards at Camden, and a very large part of the very best of it reached New York City by way of the Delaware and Raritan Canal. This shipbuilding timber was often of a length of 75 or 80 feet, and a few reached 100 feet, and there is record of one being 120 feet long.

With the diversion of the boating and arks from the river below Middletown, which occurred about 1840, rafting had sole sway on the river and was in full swing from that period until the close of the war of the Rebellion, and up into the 70's. Conditions changed considerably and supply was diminished very materially by the rapid growth of the saw mill business further up the river, centering about Williamsport and Lock Haven. The Williamsport boom was built in 1849, but did not prove strong enough to hold timber safely until 1855. A large boom was built at Linden in 1860. After their construction the number of rafts coming down from above these points was not so numerous, as the logs were floated down the river in what were called "drives" and were caught and collected in the booms. From there the timber intended to be taken down the river was rafted together. This was mainly the best qualities of white pine intended for spars and masts and to go to Camden and New York shipbuilders. Numerous mills were erected about Williamsport and throughout that section in the 70's and 80's and many of them began cutting the poorer grades of white pine, and as this was exhausted the immense hemlock forests, heretofore a despised wood, which never had been rafted down the river, began to come on the market, whither it was shipped by rail and sold under the general name of "bill stuff." At times some of the big floods did great damage, notably in 1869 and 1894, broke the booms and millions of feet of logs escaped and were carried clear down the river. A great many reached the Chesapeake Bay. These were mostly hemlock round logs, were cut very much shorter, being generally 16 or 32 feet in length.

The business methods and mechanical processes used to get these rafts into the hands of the ultimate consumer generally were about as follows:

The owners or lessees of the timber lands, consisting of millions of acres, engaged men to do the cutting of the trees and logging, these men being hired at about \$1.50 per day and boarded in lumbermen's shacks. The same men who went into the forests in August to cut and fell trees continued at the work throughout the winter by aiding in the logging, which lasted until the breaking up of hard freezing early in March. Thereafter many of the same men became raftsmen and manned the rafts with crews. A crew consisted of a pilot, a steersman, and from 4 to 8 additional men, according to the

size of the raft. The steering was done by means of two large, long oars, which were altogether some 40 feet in length each, and it took the entire crew to handle them. One of these was placed at each end of the raft, "fore and aft," as the waterman would say; firmly pivoted in the middle of the raft and balanced in the middle of the oar so as to make it handle and swing as easily as possible. The pilot was the all-important man. He had to know every fall, every rock and sand bar and the dangerous eddies and currents that lie in the rafting course, and steer his craft clear of them all. It was marvelous the knowledge of these places that he gained.

There were many pilots engaged in the business and the rule was for a pilot to take the raft from a certain point to another certain point along the river, called "stations." The longest one run was from Williamsport to Middletown, but this was often divided into two, thence from Middletown to Peach Bottom, or Fite's Eddy, and thence to Port Deposit. This rule was not always closely observed and the men sometimes changed at other points. The pilot was paid so much per raft to take the raft over his portion of the course, and out of this he paid so much per trip to each of his men, and generally leaving for himself about \$20 for the trip. The wages paid the men varied greatly at different times, though they ruled higher than the ordinary day laborer on shore. I have note of one man making \$50, for making the trip the entire length that the raft came from the mouth of Chess' Creek, which is many miles above Williamsport, to Port Deposit. Marietta became the market place for most of the spar rafts, and in rafting time it was a busy place and crowded by men in all lines of the rafting game. Purchasers came or sent their agents there to secure ship timber, especially those of the New York and Camden shipyards. Flory's hotel, in Marietta, at the corner of First and Getz streets, a rather large brick building, still standing, and now occupied as a home and a small grocery store by Morris Nagle,¹ was the headquarters for these men and often 100 or more were entertained at this hotel alone. A very large frame building once stood as an addition to the brick hotel as it stands today. Morris Nagle, now over 83 years of age, was a noted pilot and boat captain and owner pretty much all his life. Mr. Nagle began boating on the canal in 1859 and stayed with it until the end and is still hale and hearty and able to attend to business. I gained much information from him covering the period of his service. As early as 1800 Benjamin Hiestand was engaged in the lumber business at Marietta and incidentally in the rafting. His firm did a large wholesale and retail business, and are still in business there, being now known as B. F. Hiestand & Son. David Baird represented a Camden firm and was a very active and capable man in the business in the 50's and 60's. Gillingham & Cushman, of Camden, were heavy buyers of ship timber also. George Barnett & Co., was a New York firm who were regular and big buyers of rafts, and several others whose names cannot now be learned. As soon as a raft was sold every stick in it was stamped by a brand iron in several places, showing the name and brand of the purchaser. After the sale they were taken on the way to their destination, the place of business of the buyers. There was a number of men and firms along the river whose business it was to take charge of the rafts and contract to

¹ This pilot has died since this paper was first read.

deliver them safely to tidewater at Port Deposit. Among them we have learned the following, who were in business at various times, after 1840 and prior to 1870: Whittaker Webb & Co., Barnett Kennedy & Co., Thomas Kinard & Co., Moore Boyle & Co. They were mainly centered about Peach Bottom. Some noted pilots plied the river during that long period, but I have only been able to learn the names of those after 1840, as given me by several old pilots who are still living at a great age. Those that came into Marietta from up the river were: Christ Nagle, Martin Eisenberger, Morris Nagle, Ike Hipple, Fred. Waller, Lynn Waller, Johnny Appolt. Those plying between Marietta and Port Deposit were: John Kennedy, Isaac Morris, Parker B. Shank, James Barnett, William F. Coleman, Washington Whittaker, Lindsey Lee, Thomas Moore, Wm. R. Griffiths, John Ritchy, Chas. Ritchy, Geo. W. Whitaker, John Moore, and James McCullough.

Morris Nagle and Martin Eisenberger, of Marietta; Wm. F. Coleman and Parker B. Shank, of Peach Bottom, are among those who were pilots prior to 1860, still living and in good health, and all over 80 years of age. They were live, active men; men of red blood, that dared to do, and since passing from the rafting business have all established businesses of their own and are most highly esteemed in their communities.

All still live by the banks of the beautiful Susquehanna, the scene of their earliest work and their best achievement. Washington Whittaker was among the early pilots who later became prominent in the business. He is long since dead, but his son, Geo. W. Whittaker,² took his place in the rank of pilots, immediately after the War of the Rebellion, at the age of 19 years, and followed it to the end. He was the youngest pilot who was allowed to take a raft down the river. He is still living, over 70 years of age, with his good lady, likewise the daughter of a pilot. They are the proud parents of ten children, who are now fighting life's battles for themselves, and making a big success of business in their various lines.

Rafting was more or less of a dangerous business, as many rafts were wrecked by unseen rocks, "stoved," as the rivermen call it, and sometimes the crew were plunged into the icy waters to swim for it. But this "stoving" of a raft did not mean that it was lost, as no part of it would sink. It might be pretty well wrecked. The lashings broke in places, sometimes purposely cut with an axe to free and float it from the rock, but the crew would usually be able to salvage it, recover the severed parts or sections and by floating them into some still water cove or shelter, they would re-lash and re-form it and take it through safely.

Among the most dangerous places in the river from Middletown down were Conewago Falls, which lies at or about the entrance of Conewago Creek. It is now utilized to great advantage in the building of the York Haven dam, and helps to form a fine natural water power. Other points where there were more or less of risks that took skillful handling by pilot and crew were: Turkey Hill, Frey's, Cully's Falls, just below McCall's Ferry dam; the Horse Gap, at Peach Bottom; Fanny's Gap, about a mile below, was very narrow and swift; it was only 32 feet wide, hence all rafts had to be less than that and were never made wider than 30 feet. Bald Friar Falls, in which was

² This pilot died since this paper was read.

Hollow Rock, was considered very dangerous and rafts and boats alike were often wrecked there and some lives have been lost.

The crew, after delivering their rafts at the end of their run, to the next crew to take them on, immediately returned by foot along the path by the river course, back to the starting point on their run, ready to take out the next raft in turn. Occasionally some of the men would have a horse or mule which they would take down on the raft and then ride him back again to the starting point, but this was exceptional. After the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal was built, the crews between Fite's Eddy and Marietta would boat across the river and catch canal boats to Marietta going up the west side and save themselves a 15 or 20-mile walk. Prior to that they would follow the plan of having a team meet them at the Eddy or at McCall's Ferry, haul them to Lancaster and thence go by train to Marietta. This, of course, after railroads got in operation.

As civilization progressed and the cities and towns were built along the Susquehanna Valley many saw mills became established in these towns and used up a very large percentage of the lumber in the building trade. White and yellow pine, and later hemlock bill stuff was drawn upon heavily for these purposes. Harrisburg, Williamsport, Lock Haven, Muncie and Shamokin, as well as many smaller towns and the outlying farm settlements were big consumers, and much was shipped by rail from the larger cities to all parts of the state, so that the main lumber that passed down the river after about 1860 was shipbuilding, which had to be of finest quality and in very long sticks.

To feed the canal and furnish power for saw mills and other manufacturing industries, a number of dams were built along the west branch. These dams in their order from Clearfield County down were: West Branch, Queen's Run, Lock Haven, Williamsport, Muncie, Lewisburg and Shamokin, where the east and west branches came together. Below that were Green's Dam, Clark's Ferry and Columbia.

These dams were really an aid to safe rafting. Deep water covered the rocks and bars. The flow was not so swift. Each dam was provided with a chute in the form of a spillway, over which raft and ark could pass safely. Besides this, they formed fairly safe places to tie up over night as well also as temporary booms to hold logs for mills that were built along the river side. Harrisburg became quite important in many ways in the rafting days. It was not at the end of a run, but was the stopping place over night for many raftsmen, and the men made use of accommodations in passing. The City Hotel, Baumgardner's, the Farmers' and White Hall were favorite stopping places. Facilities for tying up the rafts, as also for holding or switching them to the Harrisburg saw mills and lumbermen on both sides of the river were provided and extensively used in the rafting season.

The men of that period usually were what we would today call "hard drinkers"; the harder they worked the more they ate and drank, and their lives were arduous ones. Hotels in abundance were found at the end of each run and from 4 to 6 at each place was the rule. Whiskey cost but 3 cents a drink and it was pure rye, distilled in Lancaster County. They seldom drank to intoxication, as their business required a level head and steady, strong hand, and the evidence is that a large number of the pilots at least have lived to

an extreme old age. Excessively high floods frequently occurred and did much damage and gave great trouble to the rivermen and owners of timber. Booms and dams which were heavily stocked with millions of logs awaiting rafting or to be cut at the saw mills would be swept away. In 1832 there was an exceedingly destructive flood and record high water. In later years, in 1884, 1889, and in May, 1894, were among the last big ones. In 1894, 75,000,000 feet of lumber was swept down the river, and in 1889, better known as the Johnstown Flood, equal damage was done. The writer hereof remembers watching this flood at Peach Bottom and all day long logs ran down the river so thickly as to be in continual touch with one another, and a lumber jack with his spurs might have crossed them by jumping from one to the other. I also saw them afterwards strewn along the east shore of the Chesapeake Bay from Betterton to the Patapsco. It took large forces of men nearly a whole year to gather them into rafts again and finally take them into port. For this the companies doing the work received \$1 per log. It will be remembered each log is stamped with the owner's mark, and every owner's log can thus be secured and grouped together. However, 20 per cent. of all the logs were never recovered. The first saw mill was built in the Lycoming County section in 1794, but saw mills did not come extensively in a commercial way until about 1825 or 1830. The first canals began to be built and used in about 1828 to 1836, and the first boom was finished for use at Williamsport in 1851, but it was soon swept away, being replaced by another in 1856, which was a safe one and would hold 300,000,000 feet of logs. About the time they began the building of canals and before the lines paralleling in the Susquehanna were in use, many new canal boats and lighters were fully built up the river and brought down to Port Deposit and to tidewater through the rafting channels of the river. In fact, the story of rafting on the Susquehanna is closely interwoven with the story of the building and the operation of the early canal. The same men engaged alternately in both occupations, according to the time of year; and the canal boat captain of the summer months was often seen piloting rafts in the early spring; but this paper is already filled, and I can give no space to the interesting story of canals and canal boatmen. At this day all of this is changed, even within the lifetime of some of our old people. The exhaustion of the pine forests, the building of immense saw mills, the construction of railroads everywhere, have all combined to relegate the old-time method to history. The customs, the methods and the men, have all passed away together, after 100 years of wondrous activity, in which millions and perhaps billions of dollars' worth of lumber was added to our commercial and real wealth. Lancaster County will no longer see the picturesque scene of the rivermen and the activities of the riverman's life, all have passed from view and followed the procession of the old frontier's man and the Indian, but they will ever fill a notable niche in the annals of our county's history.

Minutes of the November Meeting.

LANCASTER, PA., November 5, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting in their auditorium in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Building this evening. In the absence of the President during the earlier part of the evening the meeting was opened with Mr. H. Frank Eshleman, second Vice-President, in the chair. The meeting opened at the usual hour, 7:30.

The minutes of the October meeting were read and approved—as read.

The Librarian's report was read by the Assistant Secretary, Mr. John Summy, in the absence of the Librarian. It follows:

During the past couple of weeks the Librarian has been assisted materially by Mrs. Hostetter, Miss Spindler and Mr. Summy in compiling a list of the Society's pamphlets at present available for sale and exchange purposes, and the exact number of each on hand. This involves considerable work and more persons should volunteer to help. It should be completed soon, also, for cold weather may set in at any time, and no heat is provided for the third floor of this building.

There are many relics now in the possession of the Society, which are stored on the third floor also, and which the Librarian believes should be listed and labeled where it has not already been done, so that it may be known readily what is available when there is need or that if displayed each article may be the better identified. The published lists of donations in the pamphlet during the past ten or more years furnish this information; but the listing and tagging will require considerable work. The membership, however, is large and there should be volunteers to help.

A small bookcase for the first floor room is also needed. There is space for one between the two doors behind the Speaker's table, or near it on the south side. The present cases in the room are already more than properly filled and books cannot be placed where they should be. A second-hand bookcase would serve the purpose sufficiently well at present.

Publication of the Society's pamphlets has been greatly retarded because of the inability to get a certain manuscript for the May number, until recently and also to receive certain "cuts" for illustrative purposes; but the trouble is now ended and two pamphlets are in the hands of the printer now, with the assurance that those and the more recent issues will be published speedily.

The following exchanges and donations have been received during the past month:

A Civil War powder flask, from Mrs. Margaret E. Lipp and daughter.

A very old account book containing many historic local names, from Mr. Henry C. Shenk.

Kings "Philadelphia and Notable Philadelphians," from Mr. Christian E. Metzler, of Boston.

Photograph of Judge John B. Livingston, from the Examiner-New Era. Biography of Syracuse County, from the Onondaga Historical Association.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol 59, No. 4.

Annual Report of the Grand Rapids Public Library.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Sept., 1920.

The Loyalists of Pennsylvania, from the Ohio State University.

Annals of Iowa, July, 1920, from The Historical Department of Iowa.

The Washington Historical Quarterly, October, 1920, from the Washington State Historical Society.

Descendants of John Thompson, by McAllister, presented by T. Burd Zell.

John Franklin Meginnis, The Man and His Work, from the Lycoming Historical Society.

Historic Buildings now Standing in New York erected prior to eighteen hundred.

Signed,

HARRY L. STEHMAN, *Librarian.*

The Librarian's report was approved. No special action was taken with regard to the suggestion to secure a bookcase. A vote of thanks was cordially given to all donors and the Secretary was instructed to send same.

The Treasurer's Report is as follows:

1920

Oct. 5. Date of last meeting.

Balance on hand	\$1,321.56
Receipts	40.00
	<u>\$1,361.56</u>
Expenses	38.67

Nov. 5. Amt. in Treasury \$1,322.89

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER,

Treasurer.

The Treasurer reported two bills from The New Era Printing Company and requested that an order be granted for their payment. The order was granted, the bills amounting to \$8.24.

Dr. George R. Huber, 24 E. Orange St., City, was elected to membership.

Mr. George Erisman presented a motion that the Society take some action towards participating in the pageant to be given by the Playground Association commemorating the tercentenary anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. A discussion followed. Miss Orr suggested that it would be fitting for the Society to characterize something historically symbolic. Mr. Summy reminded the Society that the matter had been brought up before and that it had not met with approval as it was thought to be out of the province of the Society's work; the line of work that is taken up by the Society is entirely different. It was finally decided to refer it to the Executive Committee for action.

Several letters were presented asking the aid of the Society in tracing

genealogical data for the various writers. It was decided that as the work of the Society is distinctly historical and not genealogical, that the writers be referred to professional genealogists.

The general question of Library privileges came up for discussion, as the Library was not generally open to the public or to members. A discussion followed and it was decided to refer the whole matter to the Library Committee consisting of Mr. I. C. Arnold (Chairman), Mr. D. B. Landis and Miss Adaline Spindler, President Judge C. I. Landis, *ex officio*.

The Chair suggested that inasmuch as the announcement of the meeting of the evening had not appeared in the local daily papers that there ought to be a special member whose duty it should be to see that such announcements be made. He therefore appointed the Secretary to undertake this office and suggested that all information to be presented, such as the papers to be read with title and author be sent to the Secretary in time for such announcement.

The Chair also announced that a communication had been received to the effect that a desk formerly owned and used by President Buchanan was known to be for sale and suggested that the Society purchase it. There was no action taken by the Society on this point.

The paper of the evening was prepared and read by David Magee, Esq., entitled "Rafting on the Susquehanna." The paper was very interesting. The subject was treated extensively and many facts brought out on rafting and various lumber camps and sawmills along the river that had either never been known or long forgotten, as they had never been recorded. The paper evoked much interesting discussion and comment and some personal experiences. Some "rafting parties" were recalled by some of the members who took part in these social affairs. The dangers encountered on these excursions were emphasized; the Algerines or River pirates were talked about—and interesting anecdotes were told of some of the old raftsmen. Mention was made of the fact that in 1800 the Lancaster Intelligencer advertised the Hiestand sawmill.

A meeting of the Library Committee and also of the Executive Committee after the adjournment of the regular meeting was announced. The meeting was then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

ADALINE B. SPINDLER,

Secretary.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1920

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

JOHN VOGAN, FOUNDER OF VOGANVILLE,
BY HOWARD M. HOFFMAN.

EXCERPTS FROM POEM BY DR. EDWIN AUGUSTUS
ATLEE AND COMMENT,
BY ADALINE B. SPINDLER.

MINUTES OF DECEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 10.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY

LANCASTER, PA

1920

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John Vogan Founder of Voganville.

By H. M. HOFFMAN.

In the township of Earl, at the western side of said district, is located the village of Voganville, a hamlet sequestered, and isolated from trolley lines, railroads or modernly macadamized highways; yet within close proximity to this village was born a man whose life is full of history and importance to mankind—John Vogan, born on March 22, 1782. His parents emigrated from Ireland, from the County of Caven on the Emerald Isle. His father was James Vogan, born in 1744, about the time of the outbreak of King George's War with our colonies, and his mother, Margaret, was born in 1752, not far from where her spouse was born or about the time when the French were contemplating drawing a line of forts along the Ohio to confine the English to the country east of the Alleghenies. Mr. Vogan erected the first house in this town in 1839 during Martin Van Buren's administration. Some part of the original building is still standing at the southeast corner in the center of the town. To beautify his lawn he planted a walnut tree there, which tree has grown quite large and is still standing. Mr. Vogan was not inclined matrimonially and consequently was never married.

Several years after the erection of this primitive house which was a frame one, he established a brick yard on his farm east of the town where bricks were made with a single mould and by hand and burnt in the kiln by wood. These bricks were carried by boys singly and laid in the sun to dry temporarily before being placed in the oven to burn. Of these bricks Mr. Vogan erected about half the houses of the town, generally superintending the work of construction himself. Later on he disposed of the buildings or rented them at a reasonable profit, thus starting the foundation of his accumulation of wealth in later years. He was in the real estate business of some magnitude and owned hundreds of acres of land in this part of the county. His holdings later on extended to West Earl, Ephrata, East Earl, and East Cocalico townships; he also owned a number of properties in Lancaster and Philadelphia. He used good judgment and business tact in buying this real estate which consequently enhanced his profit in disposing of his property. His life was characterized by eleemosynary propensities, which he emphasized shortly before his death in his last will and testament which contains forty-five different bequests. From his servants he never exacted any strenuous labors and remembered every one of them substantially at his death. The most prominent bequest he made, and one that is a standing monument to his memory and life, is a substantial sum of money left in trust, the interest to be appropriated annually for the purchase of coal for the poor and indigent of Voganville. This bequest can be found in his will, recorded in the Register's Office of Lancaster County in Record Book of Wills.

Volume X, at page 575, and the fifth item. His will has been strictly adhered to in this respect, and during some of these intervening years since 1863, the interest on the fund which he provided had not all been used, owing to varying circumstances connected with the families of this town; consequently this excess of interest has been added to the principal, which today has trebled in amount; aggregating a neat and substantial fund for this useful purpose, for a small village like Voganville. We doubt if there is any other town in the county that has a similar charity compared to the size of this town; and many poor families should be imbued with a true spirit of gratitude and love while sitting by their warm fireside so comfortable through the charitable disposition of our venerable friend, the subject of this sketch. Through his generosity it was made possible to erect the "Union Church" at this place notwithstanding he never had connected himself with any religious sect. He also contributed to the financial aid of the Groffdale Mennonite Church, an old stone building since replaced by a modern church edifice near the site of the settlement many years ago by Hans Graef. From a dozen to fifteen families receive their coal from the fund provided by Mr. Vogan.

Several years ago the Post Office Department decided to discontinue the post office at this place, contending that all the patrons could easily be served by an R. D. route and had actually posted up a placard in the office the latter part of June stating that the office would be discontinued on the first of July, which was a comparatively short time to make any effort to restrain the postal authorities from so doing. But the writer of this sketch being desirous of retaining the history and memory of its founder, drew up a petition several days prior, praying the postal authorities to retain the office, if for no other purpose than not to distract any reminiscence from such a public spirited benefactor. A copy of this petition was mailed to Washington, and another copy given to our worthy Congressman, Hon. W. W. Griest, who through his kind efforts, and intervention saved the day, and the little post office named after the founder of the town is still on the map. Politically our worthy friend was a staunch Republican, and cast his initial ballot for Thomas Jefferson, and his last vote was for our martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. He never aspired to any office, although frequently tendered the support of his friends to this effect, rather preferring the life of a retired yeoman, taking great pride in his old "Conestoga" wagon with a selected team of six well-tried steeds, one of which teams was found on every one of his farms and all of which made periodical trips to Philadelphia to convey different agricultural products from the garden spot to the metropolis of the state. During his illness, which lasted only some few days, in 1863, when the Civil War between North and South was at its height in our country, he expressed the desire to see slavery forever obliterated from our country, but the grim reaper claimed him as a victim and called him hence before his wish was realized. The town and the community lost in him a good, true and benevolent man; a man whose kind and charitable disposition is realized substantially every year and whose benevolent bequest will forever remain a lasting monument to his memory.

The data and history above set out are correct, and authentic, as the writer gained his knowledge of them from his father, who was a close friend

of the subject of our sketch and had many pleasing and domestic episodes with Mr. Vogan, and, by the way, lived in the first house Mr. Vogan erected in the village. Squire C. S. Hoffman executed the will of the departed philanthropist, and did all his legal business locally, for many years.

A prominent monument in the Union Cemetery towering above all the others in Voganville, marks the last resting place of this beloved man.

An Outline with Excerpts from "The Life of Eugenius Laude Watts," A Poem by Edwin Augustus Atlee, M.D.

BY ADALINE BREAM SPINDLER.

An incident as related some few years ago by our esteemed fellow member, now departed, Hon. W. U. Hensel, made quite an impression on the writer of this paper. He told us that a short time previous to his story while journeying along a country road a basketful of books was offered him for a very small sum of money. He purchased the lot and examined them at his leisure. One of them furnished the theme for the very interesting paper which was the result of his incident. He said on that occasion: "Friends, if you ever have offered to you a basketful of books for a reasonable sum, take them, you are sure to find at least one that will repay you for your outlay and most probably others that may prove very interesting."

It was the writer's good fortune, recently, to have such a "basketful" of books come her way, but the basket wasn't with them; instead a rare old bed spread, much more interesting. The collection of books accompanying it contained many more than "one" of rare interest. It is one of these which furnishes the subject of this paper, "Eugenius Laude Watts, A Poem, the author Edwin Augustus Atlee, M.D., Philadelphia."

With regard to the subject of this biography he says in the first stanza:

"Truth I shall write but think me not to blame
If from your ken I hide his real name."

and in the preface he says the *Poem* is part of the real biography of an individual now living, with whom the author has been intimately acquainted from childhood.

The *Poem*, as he calls it, is not conspicuous for its merit as such, in fact in many places, as he says of it himself, "Good judges cannot fail to detect (it) as the work of a tyro." Then we must remember he was not a poet by profession; he was a physician. Dr. Watts was a Lancaster man and as there are numerous incidents which refer to historical facts and eminent persons I make no apology for my subject as not being one of historical significance.

Of his birthplace the Poem says—and it gives you an insight into the nature, style and status of the poetry:

"Near where meand'ring Conestoga laves
The soil luxuriant, with his limpid waves,
Stands the fair LANCASTER, the well known pride
Of Cities inland

* * * * *

Of Parentage not mean, Eugenius here
First Light beheld, and breath'd the vital Air

* * * * *

A gen'rous Father's hand the Table spread;
His num'rous offspring, healthful shar'd the bread,
Earn'd by his labours in his Country's Cause;
Dispensing from the *Bench* her equal Laws."

The father of Eugenius, as we see, was a lawyer and a judge—the head of a large family. Of his mother he says:

"A pious mother, too, with anxious care
Suppliant for them preferr'd the daily Pray'r,
Pointed and led them in the heav'nly road,
Thro' patient self-denial unto God."

This and succeeding lines, gives a true historical picture of the typical good old Lancaster home. The author stops to foretell of Eugenius:

"Ah had the stripling, *then* her worth but known
Ere childhood's tender, heedless years had flown;
What Joys substantial—what unsullied Bliss,
Had oft, instead of Wretchedness, been his;
While in loose Pleasure well nigh swallow'd up,
He drank, inebriated, of fell *Circe's* cup!"

A PICTURE OF SCHOOL LIFE AS LANCASTER AFFORDED IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Eugenius was sent to school to Madam Anderson at the age of four years. Of her is said:

"... in A, B, C, well skill'd,
As Fame reports, full well her station fill'd:
Save that no frown e'er chill'd with boding fear,
The little urchins rang'd around her Chair;
* * * * *
Hers was the novel Plan, her little School,
Not by Severity, but Love to rule."

Eugenius's progress at school was so rapid that before long a master was chosen to whom he went. The master evidently proved to be a tyrant, because to this one he went but one year and then "the dread Tyrant he with joy forsook."

"Successive Pedagogues their art employ'd
On young Eugenius. Each in turn annoy'd
His back and hands, and head, and e'en his ears,
With ferule, rope, and fingers. Oft the Tears
In briny floods, his num'rous wrongs bespoke;
While silent suffering the vengeful stroke.

Severe the chastisement—he knew not why,
 For, certes, all confess'd him a smart boy.
 First in his class was he, unless disgrac'd
 By fault, suppos'd or real: ne'er displac'd
 By boy superior, or in age or wit;
 Yet could he ne'er the happy secret hit,
 Of pleasing those whom most he wish'd to please—
 An Art which some could practise at their ease.
 True, he was forward, and some call'd him proud;
 Eugenius this, in some degree, allow'd.
 A little fond of Mischief eke was he,
 And at a joke would chuckle merrily.
 Quite off his guard, sometimes the little fool,
 Would play his Pranks, and laugh aloud in School.
 Yet conscious of his faults, he freely own'd,
 When Punishment was just; nor ever shunn'd
 The merited correction, tho' severe.
 Save when they beat his head, or pull'd his ear—
 A mode of chastisement quite common then,
 And practised too by sanctimonious men,
 Who could demurely pray and preach on Sunday;
 But ne'er forget Rattan or Rope on Monday.
 This fav'rite Plan of pulling, and of banging,
 Resembled the mild English Law of Hanging;
 For whether the offense was great or small,
 One punishment alike awaited all."

These pedagogues seem to have had their favorites and on one occasion when a particular favor had been shown to one of them at Eugenius's expense and his rival won the prize of a big red apple which Eugenius had a right to expect, after school

"When the school boys issued forth for home
 Eugenius eyed his Foe, and following close,
 O'ertook him, and administered a dose,
 Which some might name, Cathartic pugilistic."

Some busybody quickly carried the tale back to the master, who gave hasty and peremptory orders to have Eugenius brought back to him and waited in school for his appearance.

"But well foreseeing evil, this young sinner
 Chose rather to go home and eat his dinner;
 Than risk what he conceived perchance might come,
 Namely what honest 'Paddy gave the Drum.'"

When the matter was brought to his father's attention we get a picture of the worthy judge, his father, in the lines:

"Full well the stripling's honour'd Sire I knew:
 In purpose firm, and generous and true;

Kind though he was, and merciful; yet just,
 And, as a Parent, faithful to his trust.
 In Chastisement, perhaps somewhat severe,
 Yet could he not inflict without a Tear."

And of the punishment inflicted the following lines explain :

"So when the fabled Jove his vengeance hurl'd,
 To deal destruction on a guilty World:
 Swift-pinion'd Love, midway the Lightnings seiz'd
 Smil'd in the Sov'reign's face—and his fierce wrath appeas'd!"

Which means the father forgave him without punishment.

Eugenius, humbled in mind and manner, sought pardon from the master and his sometime rival whom he had given the "Cathartic pugilistic" and was forgiven by both.

The author apologizes for the lengthy story, when he fears that his readers may consider it too wordy, in the following lines:

"Yet one *Longinian* beauty they'll commend—
 The Story has beginning, middle, end!"

ONE OF THE CONESTOGA'S WELL KNOWN DEATH TRAPS CHRONICLED.

"Our Pilgrimage, whatever some may dream
 The impress bears of PROVIDENCE SUPREME."

Another bard has said in fewer words what it has taken our poet sixteen lines to convey :

"There is a Divinity that shapes our ends
 Rough-hew them how we may."

The poet makes mention on several occasions of what he terms the miraculous intervention of an all-seeing Providence. On this occasion he makes mention of how on a summer's holiday he and a number of companions went to fish and swim in the Conestoga and how he, resolving to "show off" by doing an extra strenuous stunt started to wade and swim backwards to the Deep Hole (an excavation near the river's center) evidently one of the Conestoga's many springs that bubble up from the bed of the river. Like the boy in the fable who called "Wolf" once too often so Eugenius bantered his companions by making believe he was drowning and when they came to his assistance laughed at them. Finally they ran away when he really was drowning. He was saved and the assistance that did come after the final struggle was over and he lay apparently lifeless at the bottom does seem miraculous. His father's servant, John, riding down to the river to fish saw from a distance the boy, not knowing who it was, go down for the last time. Urging his horse into the stream he searched and found him, brought him to shore where after considerable effort he was resuscitated. And here we

find an early custom which is now, doubtless to our detriment, nearly obsolete. When the family, who are at tea when Eugenius and the servant come in, learn of the occurrence :

“A silent pause ensued when at the word
Of venerated Sire, with one accord,
The happy Family, on bended knee,
Approach'd, in Pray'r and Praise, the DEITY.”

It may be mentioned incidentally that John, the servant, came in for praise and reward.

From the standpoint of the Lancaster County Historical Society we are interested in this narrative in so far as it gives us glimpses of Lancaster, descriptions and events, and it is on this phase that I shall dwell more particularly.

A CHANGE OF RESIDENCE.

After a lifelong residence in Lancaster City we find Eugenius's father exchanging town life for the country.

“A time-worn Mansion was his humble choice,
Remote from pageantry and empty noise.
A few well cultured Acres of rich ground,
Did the romantic Edifice surround.
A stream of purest Water, at the Door,
Thro' conduits from a distant Fount, did pour
Its ceaseless bounty, which the wants supplied
Of Man and beast and fowl; and serv'd beside,
By well-directed channels from a Ditch,
The Mead, and neighb'ring Garden, to enrich.
Well-stock'd with various Fruits, an Orchard, too,
With pendant boughs, here stood, to charm the view,
And tempt the palate. There, a Spring-house cool,
Of Milk and Butter, and etcet'ras, full;
Beneath a spreading Weeping Willow stood,
And in return for shade, its Roots supplied with Food.
Here, when at leisure from Forensic Care,
He hop'd, within his Family, to share,
The sweets of calm Retirement, where the Mind,
In Joys domestic, might true solace find.
No cultur'd Neighbor, now, with kindred Soul
His converse daily shared, or social Bowl;
The honest German, whose untutor'd breast,
No wish beyond his fertile Grounds possess'd,
Here dwelt, unenvious of the pamper'd Great;
His all of life entomb'd in his Estate.
Yet neither ennui nor discontent,
The Sire assail'd. His placid hours were spent,
In wholesome Toil; or whiles, reclin'd at ease,

The moral Tale, or fav'rite Book, would please ;
 Or home-made Music's soft enchanting notes
 From well-strung Instruments, and well tuned Throats ;
 For, Wife and Daughters could the Spinnet play,
 And with symphonious Voices tune the lay :
 Eugenius, too, with voice and Fiddlestring,
 The Concert joined and knew to play and sing.
 In Joys like these, their tranquil hours would pass,
 Enliven'd sometimes by the temp'rate Glass
 Of sparkling Cider, or the costly juice
 Of Grape, or Currant for more common use.
 Nor liv'd they to themselves : Their welcome Door
 Was ever open to the sick and poor ;
 Dispensing Raiment, Medicine and Food,
 They learn'd the Surgery of doing Good."

This is a pleasing picture of a well-to-do large family in a typical Lancaster home in the early days and is still in vogue.

Home life is so delightful to Eugenius that it is some time before he returns to school which he eventually does and resumes his studies with zest. One summer morning it is related he had just taken up his books to go to school, which was called at six o'clock, when he had a sudden presentiment that his mother was dying. On telling his aunt about it she tried to overcome his superstitious notion as she called it. She gave her permission, however, to his going home and he started immediately, not waiting for breakfast. Home was ten miles away but when he arrived he found he was just in time to see his mother for the last time alive. She expired soon after his arrival.

For two years he remained the companion of his father, "In toil corporeal and by cares perplexed," during which was developed a decided tendency to conduct and manner of life quite unexemplary and then he was sent to Dickinson College. As we read we gather that Eugenius has a brilliant mind, fond of athletics and quite an adept in all sports and has a great wit. With these qualities and some unscrupulous fellow students he begins a chapter which leads to the most serious consequences, among which we find a duel fought and won. Some time after this event an epidemic breaks out at his home of which his father is a victim. This takes him home once more. He himself contracts the disease but shortly recovers. His father, for awhile, seems to get better, but the disease eventually proves fatal.

"E'en on the judgment seat, in evil hour,
 He felt, and strove against, the baneful pow'r.
 Anxious, his circuit's toilsome task to close
 . . . His sinking faculties, he urg'd
 Beyond reaction."

Five days after his arrival home his father passed away. Adversity compels Eugenius to leave college and return to Lancaster. He takes up the study of law, but after six months in the home of an eminent attorney, a devoted

friend of his father, he finds that Blackstone had no charm for him. He gave up law for medicine.

“Two sons of Æsculapius flourished then ;

Brave gen'rous Hand and philosophic Kuhn ;
This was Germania's—that Hibernia's son.”

He pays a fine tribute to General Hand, who took him into his home. He says of him :

“And tho' he moved in an exalted sphere :
To every child of want, he bow'd his ear.
No office of the sick, with him too mean—
His greatness in humility was seen !
Oft has he left the brilliant social hall,
Foregone its pleasures at affliction's call ;
And, with that hand, long us'd the sword to wield,
In what the world, misnomers, glory's field ;
His well taught skill chirurgical would prove,
Temper'd alike with fortitude and love.”

He was with him for one year when the Whiskey Insurrection broke out and both answered their country's call in its suppression.

“The troops of Pennsylvania on were led
By ardent Mifflin, then her lawful head.

“Thro' many a staring village did they pass,
And many a smile they got from many a lass ;
For, Reader, be this secret to thee known
As, 'Saints in crape are two-fold saints in lawn,'
So men, tho' bold enough a fort to storm,
Are still but *men*—without their uniform,
This makes them twice as brave, to female view ;
Which, when encamped, or on a march, will do.”

Of the Whiskey Insurrection, he says :

“March follows march, in bloodless enterprise
No foe appears—but every rebel flies
As loyalty advances—save a few
That know not where to flee or what to do ;
These are secur'd and under proper guard,
Sent to receive their merited reward.
Thus ended the campaign, with toil, replete
And thus rebellion suffer'd a defeat,
By simply—marching a few thousand men
To PITTSBURG—and then—marching back again !

On the homeward tramp while the troops were marching thro' roads of

mud and slush a frightened deer broke through the ranks. Eugenius, who had been on guard the night before and had his musket loaded (no doubt it was a good Lancaster-made one, Captain Dillin might tell us) pursued without leave of absence. He pursued too far and lost his way. He wandered until nightfall when he saw a light in a huntsman's cottage. Here he stayed all night and fortunately the huntsman knew where the camp was and sent his son as guide to lead him back "giving him for breakfast venison steak and chestnut coffee" served by the huntsman's pretty daughter. The young guide, bearing a bag of venison, of which the Captain and other officers were the recipients, warded off a reprimand and the affair was treated as a huge joke.

Eugenius returned to his preceptor, General Hand, and applied his mind to the study of medicine. But the General being advanced in years and wishing to retire—

"Near the city purchased a retreat
Call'd '*Rockford*'—a romantic country seat—
With much of nature left, his time to employ,
And much of art, at leisure to enjoy:
The winding *Conestoga* kiss'd its shore,
And, for the tribute, rich alluvion bore.
Thither, retiring from the busy town,
His practice he declin'd and sat him down."

REMOVAL TO PHILADELPHIA—ARRANGEMENTS—AND DERANGEMENTS.

Although it was with aching heart that he was compelled to leave his preceptor and friend

"Yet rich in buoyant spirits and in hope
He left, resignedly, this second HOME,
Loath to anticipate his future doom.
For '*res angusta*' scarcely would allow
That he to the metropolis should go;
Yet, being his preceptor's last advice,
He deem'd it best—whate'er might be the price."

He thereupon made arrangements with his guardian, by whom a sum due by bond was paid. It wasn't very much, but Eugenius resolved:

"Right carefully to husband every cent.
Of so much foresight did he seem possess'd,
That none who did not know him, would have guess'd
What brittle stuff compos'd his resolution——"

for

"having fix'd upon a time for starting
He thought a little cantico at parting.
With some of his companions, could not harm.

So kept it up awhile, till somewhat warm.
 And as the custom is, when wine had enter'd,
 And snug was in the throne of reason centered;
 It turn'd her out of doors; and soon made way
 For overheated passions to bear sway.
 These must the pabulum appropriate find;
 And what more suited to the abject mind,
 Than cards, and dice—the radicals of evil—
 The art and text book of 'Nick Ben,' the devil!
 These by some men of wits were introduc'd."

By all of which we see that Sunday Schools were not the only places of resort for young men of Lancaster. As this is his "Good-by" to Lancaster for a long while we have given it full space. Most sad to relate Eugenius played for deep stakes and lost—

"found his treasure ebbing fast
 And to retrieve it, made a desp'rate cast
 If possible the shining board to sweep,
 At which he stole an avaricious peep:
 And cried: 'Fortuna favet Fortibus!'
 But soon perceived: 'Non stulto, sortibus:'"

And then he finds that all his plans, arranged with such exceeding care, are as empty as his exchequer. Repentance, deep and contrite, comes too late and shame and remorse and despair are his, but the next day he takes passage for Philadelphia.

The journey of those olden days seems strange to-day:

"Time passed unheeded, as the rapid car
 Conveyed him onward, till he saw from far,
 The lofty spires of Philadelphia rise:
 To sadden—not rejoice—his aching eyes.
 Quick o'er the time-proof bridge, impetuous pass'd
 The bounding stage-coach; till the steeds at last,
 Panting, and sweating, to the goal arriv'd,
 Where Dunwoody the weary guests receiv'd."

A former schoolmate helped him find a boarding place with two Quaker dames who came to be very fond of him and of this place he says:

"had he sought
 The city through none better had he got.
 Neatness herself might be an inmate there
 Nor fear her dress to soil with dusty chair."

And Eugenius was apparently very gay—he sang songs and played the violin and joked, at which the good dames

"e'en would laugh until their sides did shake."

In Philadelphia he took up the study of medicine with Dr. Barton, but lack of funds together with a taste for adventure led him, after nine months, to seek a position as sailor on a merchant ship. His friend tried to persuade him against this decision, but he was not to be driven from his purpose and in a short while he finds himself a "foremast hand" on the brig *SUSANNA*. His friend the Captain, whose name was Maxwell and who had also tried to dissuade him, says:

"I'll take you—but I say you may depend on't
If I don't make a sailor of you, boy,
I'll know e'er we come back the reason why."

The experiences of this journey were truly wonderful and read like a most exaggerated tale of adventure—the shipwreck off Bermuda—their miraculous escape—the meeting with a privateer which twice they bluffed by turning broadside and pretending to give a full volley when all the arms they had were two horse pistols and a rusty sword. Yet at their warlike front:

"E'en less had done: The panic stricken foe
Made off as speedily as he could go."

only to return again under cover of night. Eugenius, discovering this, gave the alarm and the same strategy with louder shouting of commands from the Captain sent them scurrying, this time not to return.

On board the brig *Susanna* was a jolly tar named Bill Harris, a deserter from the British warship *Bellona*. While busy on the deck of the *Susanna* Harris sees the *Bellona* in the Harbor and is compelled to hide. On shore later he is recognized and chased. He escapes to the brig but officers are sent on board to search. They fail to find his hiding place, mainly, the story tells us, because the Captain, although he had no guns, did have rum enough, which proved safer and more effective.

The wreck of the Yawl in Jamaica Harbor, on which were Eugenius and three other volunteers, again endangered his life and convinced him of another "miraculous escape."

The British Ship of War *Sovereign* was cruising in the Waters of Jamaica just as the *Susanna* appeared in the harbor, and

"Espied and with her thunder brought her too
Enquired her destiny—o'er hauled her crew
Then left her safe her voyage to pursue."

Evidently on this occasion Bill Harris was again safely hidden. This incident shows that England had begun her Impressment Acts.

Eventually the brig gets back into port in Philadelphia and in Eugenius's Settlement with Captain Maxwell he finds he has overdrawn his wages. After he pays the balance he starts for Lancaster.

"Tracing his well-known haunts of pleasure o'er.
His list'ning friends with wonder heard the tale
Of his adventures—"

Those who had his best interests at heart knowing that Eugenius was still longing to resume sailor life entreated him not to do so. Listening to their advice, he returns to his last preceptor and again takes up the study of medicine.

A MOST UNPLEASING CHAPTER.

A most unpleasant chapter follows, in which for two years his college life is but a series of wild and dissolute escapades. And yet he hoped that his name and station would win him his degree. He was doomed to disappointment, for, summoned by the Dean to appear before the faculty, he was made to understand that he had not passed his tests and would not receive his diploma. The Dean counselled him to study one more Year. Necessity compelled him to reject this counsel and without a diploma he located at Middletown, where he started the practice of medicine. He practiced here successfully for six months, so much so that a jealous rival, also one without a diploma, lured him to a more distant field, while securing the Middletown field for himself.

In Middletown, however, he met the lady whom he wished to make his wife, but his mode of life had been such that the lady's guardian was inclined to refuse his consent. Hearing tales of his dissolute habits the guardian removed her to a distant place.

IN ELIZABETHTOWN.

Eugenius moved to Elizabethtown of which he says:

"Hail village of Elizabeth, all hail!
Thy hills, thy huts, thy barns, and inns prevail
With potent charm, o'er the enraptured Bard,
To sound thy name abroad—else never heard—
Now with EUGENIUS, shall thy fame descend
Secure, thro' time—e'en to the world's last end!
Yea, dipping thence—If *Symmes* be in the right,
Astound each quizzing central *troglodyte*;
And with *new* LAURELS to thy source emerge.

Here with Germania's sons and daughters
He sold advice and medicated waters
And pills and powders; mended legs and arms
And heal'd or tried to heal, most other harms."

I will mention one incident here which had more far reaching results and affected his life more than all the others.

"'Twas said above
That the dear object of Eugenius' love
Had from his presence, thro' distrust, been hurried:
But happily, she was not dead nor buried."

A few weeks after her disappearance

“A fam'd review,
Of soldiering there was at *Hummelstown*
(For *Euphony* the Bard notes this town down)”

Eugenius had some very minor office in the infantry

“Where well his part he played from first to last
So, after the fatigue and dust of war,
He with a friend did to an inn repair.”

Over their wine they pledged each to his sweetheart and

“That when so e'er the blissful time should come
When *either*, for a *bride* should leave his home
The *other*—be the notice but *one* day
Or distance e'er so great—without delay,
Would as the groomsman, bear him company.”

Eugenius promptly forgot this pledge, but a short time later his friend recalled it to mind and claimed its performance. He had to travel eighty miles to do so, which he did and there found his own lady love.

Remembering, no doubt, the old adage “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush” he made good use of his opportunity and persuaded her to marry him the next day, which after debating with herself through a sleepless night she consented to and the following day the ceremony was performed.

The journey home of the young bride and groom is rather interesting (and recalls somewhat the very interesting paper of last month by Mr. Magee, “Rafts and Rafting on the Susquehanna”). It had rained so incessantly that it was impossible to travel over the roads. The Susquehanna torrents also are mentioned as a barrier.

“No long delay succeeds, for soon the raft,
(A clumsy, broad, unseemly kind of craft,
Composed of floating logs, lash'd side by side,
On which some rough board platforms, long and wide,
Were pinn'd secure, while a huge pond'rous oar,
Grac'd stem and stern, each thirty feet or more)
The advent'rous pair was ready to receive,
With what small knick-knacks their good friends should give,
And bear adown the rapid, dang'rous current
Of the majestic river, without warrant,
Or e'en much hope, of landing safe and sound,
To tenant their awaiting holy ground.
Yet, down came raft, like porpoise, tumbling o'er
Waves, drifting, rocks, and whirlpools near the shore,
Till, coax'd by oarsmen's artifice, she popp'd
'Gainst a soft shelving headland, and was stopp'd,
Just where 'twas most convenient to debark,
And the tir'd voyagers forsook their ark;
And bag and baggage with themselves well stow'd

In rustic vehicle they trac'd the road
Which to their long-expectant cottage leads."

There was not enough money in Elizabethtown, although he worked hard at his profession, whereupon he moved to Columbia. Here things began to brighten for he was among his friends. He evidently, however, was one who could not stand prosperity, for his biographer tells a most woeful tale of dissolute habits returning and drink and cards once more prove his ruin. The story is rather horrible, so we will pass it; but it reached a climax in the death of his son and this turned the father's mind to better things and this time the reformation was sincere.

"Then followed steady habits at his heels
The worth of which none knows, save him who feels.

And through the kindness of his friends he was again on the way to prosperity.

"Yet there was to his comfort one alloy."

His friend the bard reminds him that, having begun his duties as practitioner without a diploma, he was nothing more than an upper kind of quack doctor, whereupon against the advice of his friends he gave up his present prospects and repaired to the University to get his diploma, which he did after five months of Herculean labor. But he had won his diploma at a most serious cost for another man had stepped into his place and he was forced to give up much that he had earned by hard toil and was forced to sell his home at a great loss. It gave a religious turn to his mind. He removed to Philadelphia, where he became a Methodist minister. Under the "Progress of Eugenius" we find him progressing through Quakerism and finally to Swedenborgianism. He had

"Enter'd upon the stage of life anew
Sought and obtained new friends and serv'd them too—
With zeal; nor did he cease to serve his God."

Finally as a sort of apologia he says:

"Poets like Critics all have vanity
Yet e'en these extracts much the author fears
May cost some blushes, for they cost Eugenius tears."

I will close with the Dedications. There are two and they are of much interest:

"TO MRS. SARAH BETHEL

"Eldest Daughter of the late

"GENERAL EDWARD HAND,

"LANCASTER.

"The Author, with sentiments more elevated than flattery knows, first dedicates this little volume: happy, even thus humbly, to commemorate the generosity of her illustrious and venerated sire, the author's first preceptor in Medicine, and SECOND FATHER.

" May she long continue the representative of his virtues : and in eternity may she enjoy their reward.

" PHILADELPHIA, 1828.

" TO MRS. MARY YORKE,

" Widow of the late

" SAMUEL YORKE, ESQUIRE

" PHILADELPHIA.

" This work is also dedicated, by one who has experienced, both from herself and from her much lamented husband, such evidences of disinterested friendship, as death alone can eradicate from the grateful memory of

" THE AUTHOR.

" PHILADELPHIA, 1828."

Minutes of December Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., December 3, 1920.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held their regular monthly meeting in their auditorium in the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library Building this evening at the regular hour, 7:30 o'clock. The President, Judge, C. I. Landis, officiated.

The minutes of the November meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian, Mr. Harry Stehman, Jr., being absent, the Librarian's report was read by the Secretary and is as follows:

During the past month the donations to the Historical Society consisted of:

I. The Cambridge Historical Proceedings of January to October, 1916.

II. Jewish Historical Society Publications, 1920.

III. Journal of American History 1918 and 1919 numbers.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRY STEHMAN, JR.

Lancaster, Pa., December 3, 1920.

Report of Treasurer is as follows:

1920.

Nov. 5. To Balance on hand.....	\$1,322.89
To Receipt from Dues.....	20.00
To Receipt from Certificate of Deposit, with interest to date, as per enclosed ticket.....	864.77
	\$2,207.66
By New Era bill	\$ 8.24
By \$2,200 U. S. Liberty 4th Registered 4½ per cent. Bonds, as per bill submitted.....	1,892.81
Dec. 3. By Balance in Treasury.....	306.61
	\$2,207.66

Respectfully submitted,

A. K. HOSTETTER, Treasurer.

Receipt for Liberty Bonds received.

The Treasurer having been unexpectedly called out of town, the report was read by Mr. John L. Summy, Assistant Secretary.

The Treasurer presented the following bills for payment.

The purchase of \$2,200 Registered Liberty Loan Bonds, \$1,892.81.

New Era Publishing Co., \$93.99.

Mrs. Gertrude Wiley, \$5.00.

These bills were approved and the Secretary was instructed to write orders for same and enter the report on the minutes.

The recommendation of the Librarian, Mr. Henry Stehman, at the November meeting that a bookcase be purchased and placed in the main room downstairs for the accommodation of excess valuable material was presented for consideration and it was referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Four applications for membership were presented:

Mr. Howard M. Hoffman, New Holland, Pa.

Rev. R. H. Brennecke, Jr., pastor Moravian Church, city.

Miss Marguerite Albright, Maytown, Pa.

Mr. Edgar L. Matterer, 121 East Lemon Street, city.

Under the rules these names were deferred for action to the regular meeting one month hence.

The nomination of officers for the ensuing year was next in order and the present officers with the exception of those who had passed away during the year were renominated.

President, Hon. Charles I. Landis.

Vice Presidents, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., H. Frank Eshleman.

Recording Secretary, Adaline B. Spindler.

Corresponding Secretary, Adaline B. Spindler.

Assistant Secretary, John L. Summy.

Treasurer, A. K. Hostetter.

Librarians, Harry L. Stehman, Miss Helen E. Meyers.

Executive Committee, L. B. Herr, D. F. Magee, Esq., Mrs. Sarah D. Carpenter, Miss Virginia Clark, Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, D. B. Landis, Prof. H. H. Beck, Geo. F. K. Erisman, I. C. Arnold, Esq., Wm. F. Worner.

Auditing Committee, L. B. Herr, I. C. Arnold, Esq., John L. Summy.

An invitation was received by the Historical Society from the Moravian Church, who are holding their one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary in celebration of the founding of their church in Lancaster, to the Monday evening (Historical Evening) session, beginning at 7:30. The Rev. Prof. W. N. Schwartz, Ph.D., of Bethlehem, Pa., to speak on "The Beginnings of the Lancaster Congregation"; The Rev. Max Hark, D.D., to speak on "Some Historical Reminiscences"; Rev. Dr. George W. Richards, "The Contribution of the Moravian Church to Protestant Christianity." The invitation was received and the Society expressed its appreciation of the courtesy.

Mr. Eshleman called attention to the error in the paragraphs of the daily newspapers announcing the sale of some William Penn furniture, which he declared was not authentic. The Society appointed him to write an account correcting the erroneous statements.

Other articles were called to the attention of the Society, notably one by the Secretary as occurring in a most excellent little booklet put out by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in which it states that George Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States in Philadelphia, whereas the fact is that Washington took the oath of office in New York on the balcony of the building called Federal Hall, on Wall street. His second inaugural, however, took place in the Senate Chamber of the State House, corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets. The State House is called by some historians the Federal Building.

There were two short papers prepared for the evening, entitled "John

Vogan of Voganville," written by Mr. Howard M. Hoffman, of New Holland, and read by Mr. H. Frank Eshleman; the second, "The Life of Eugemies Laude Watts," being an outline with excerpts from the poem written by Edwin Augustus Atlee, M.D., Philadelphia. This paper was prepared and read by Miss Adaline Spindler. Both papers were well received. A discussion followed each and a vote of appreciation and thanks was extended to all contributors.

ADALINE B. SPINDLER,
Secretary.

1919

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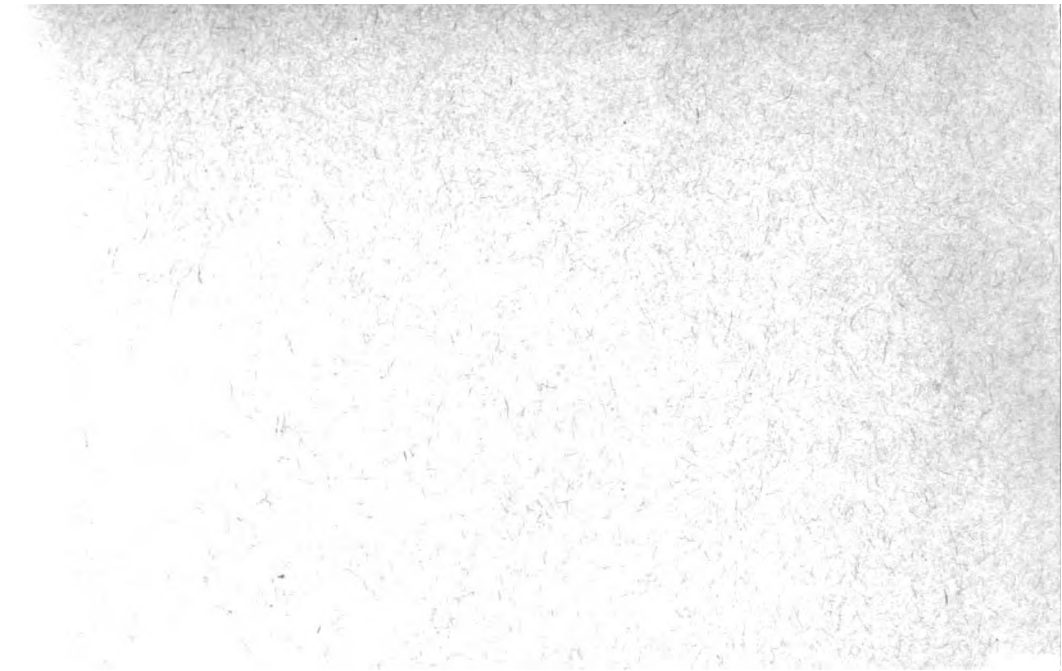
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